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MEMOIRS

OF THE

BARON DE TOTT,

ON THE

TURKS AND THE TARTARS.

TRANSLATED from the FRENCH.

BY AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN AT PARIS,

Under the immediate INSPECTION

OF THE

BARON.

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

BARON DE TOTT.

THIRD PART.

I HAD ſeen, on my journey, only a ſmall part of the diſorders and cruelties committed by the Turkiſh army, on leaving Conſtantinople; but on my arrival in that capital, I found every body ſtill in emotion at ſo horrible a ſpectacle, the particulars of which I had no difficulty in collecting.

An ancient cuſtom, of which neither the cauſe nor the origin can be traced, unites the moſt inſipid buffooneries, with the commanding train of the aſſemblage of the forces of a great empire, againſt its enemies, and the Turks call this ridi-

culous medley, *Alay*; that is, the triumphal pomp: it consists in a sort of masquerade, where all the different branches of trade successively exhibit to the spectators, the mechanic exercise of their respective arts: The husbandman drives his plough, the weaver throws his shuttle, the joiner planes; and these various representations, raised on carriages, richly decorated, open the procession, and precede the standard of Mahomet *, when it is marched out of the Seraglio, to be conveyed to the army, to insure victory to the Ottoman troops.

This

* This Standard, made of green silk stuff, is kept in the Treasury, from whence it is never taken, but to go to war; it was, however, in agitation, to employ it against the rebels who dethroned Sultan Achmet: that Prince's Visir, who was the first victim on which the malecontents displayed their fury, without glutting it, gave that advice to his master; and the revolters, who had no other principle of union than pillage, must certainly have been dispersed by the multitude, who would have resorted to the sacred banner. Another relic of Mahomet is preserved, also, in the Treasury; they dip this every year in water, which the Grand Seignior then orders to be distributed, in phials, to the great men of the empire. Free-thinkers, for such there are, even

This royal ſtandard of the Turks, which they call Sandjak-Chérif, or the Standard of the Prophet, is held in ſo much reverence amongſt them, that, notwithſtanding the various checks with which its reputation has been tarniſhed, it is ſtill the ſole object of their confidence, and the ſacred point to which they rally. Every thing proclaims the ſanctity of theſe colours; the Emirs only have the privilege of touching it; they compoſe the band which ſurrounds it; it is borne by their chief: Muſſulmen alone dare lift their eyes to look at it; other hands would pollute, other eyes would prophane it; the moſt barbarous fanaticiſm encompaſſes this ſtandard.

A long peace having unfortunately made them forget the ridicule and the danger of this ceremony, the Chriſtians, very imprudently, were anxious to ſee it; and the Turks, who, from the ſi-

 tuation

even amongſt the true-believers, pretended, that this relic is no other than an old pair of breeches of the Prophet; it is very certain, however, that this holy water coſts dear to thoſe who are gratified with it; and that they who convey it, make the favoured perſons pay very handſomely for the goods of this, and for their ſalvation in the other world.

tuation of their houſes, could let their windows, availed themſelves of this advantage: an Emir, who preceded the banner, cried out, in a loud voice, the following words: "Let no infidel dare to prophane, by his preſence, the ſanctity of the Prophet's ſtandard; and let every Muſſulman who diſcovers an infidel, declare it, under pain of reprobation." From that moment there was no aſylum; even they, who, by letting their houſes, had become accomplices in the crime, became the informers. Fury takes poſſeſſion of their minds, and gives freſh ſtrength to every arm; the moſt atrocious crimes become the moſt meritorious; no longer was there any diſtinction of age or ſex. Pregnant women, dragged by the hair of the head, trampled under foot by the multitude, periſhed in the moſt deplorable manner; nothing was reſpected by theſe monſters; and it was under theſe auſpices that the Turks began the war.

The Katty-Chérif, or Imperial Diploma, which proclaimed it, dictated in the uſual form, invited all true-believers, able to bear arms, to unite themſelves under

under the ſtandard of the Faith, to fight againſt its enemies; this ſort of convocation of the Arrier Ban, promiſed a numerous army, but not an army of good troops: ignorance and avarice gave the preference to this multitude of volunteers, whom they ſhould no longer be obliged to think of, at the concluſion of the war, to the ſervice of the Janiſſaries, whoſe pay, and pretenſions, would for ever be advanced. It may, alſo, be preſumed, that the Grand Seignior's fearing to reſtore to that corps the energy to which his father had fallen a victim, was inclined only to employ them as auxiliary forces. The moſt ſubſtantial inconvenience that prevailed, and which one would the leaſt ſuſpect, was the total want of foreſight reſpecting proviſions. It is the nature of deſpotiſm, always to flatter itſelf, to be able to ſubſtitute authority to prudence. The Grand Viſir commanded the army; all the Miniſters accompanied him; even the records of the Chancery were dragged in the train. No doubts were entertained either of ſucceſs, or of abundance—the confidence was as blind, as it was univerſal.

Whilſt the great officers, by going to a diſtance from Conſtantinople, ſeem to remove with them the ſeat even of the empire, their ſubſtitutes, in each employment, reſide in the capital, and are reſponſible to the deſpot for the ready execution of his orders *.

We are now going to ſee the ſprings of this government in action, the ſucceſſive details of which, will enable the reader to form a better judgment than from a vague diſſertation, unſupported by facts.

I had only been a few days at Conſtantinople, and had ſcarcely had time to take the neceſſary ſteps to haſten the return of my baggage, which I had left in Crimea, and in Baſs-Arabia, when the firſt phyſician of the Grand Signior ſent to me, at eleven o'clock at night, to know if I would receive him. The ſecrecy he exacted, together with the favour in which I knew he was with the Sultan,

* It muſt be remarked, however, that the removal of the Records of the Chancery, neceſſarily retards the execution of thoſe orders where forms are neceſſary; but it may be added, that affairs of that nature very ſeldom intereſt the deſpot, and when they do, forms are eaſily diſpenſed with.

Sultan, excited my curiosity, without my presuming that a direct message was the object of this visit. The physician, however, told me, that Sultan Mustapha, informed of my return, had expressly commissioned him, to ask me the cause of it? "If you have reason to complain of any person, he will do you speedy justice; I have just quitted the Sultan; he has talked to me a great deal about you; he knows your origin *, and thinks it gives him some claim on your zeal." I desired him to assure his Highness of my gratitude; and although this appeared to me a personal measure, I was perfectly convinced, that it was impossible I should be the only object of a Prince's solicitude, whose armies were already in the field. His emissary, in fact, who had orders to carry him my answer, returned the next day, at the same hour, but with more ample instructions. As this Italian physician still spoke with difficulty the Turkish language, the questions he had to

* It has already been seen, that my father was an Hungarian, who had followed Prince Ragotzy; and we know that the Porte gave an asylum to that Prince, and his followers.

aſk me, were committed to writing: I wrote my anſwers alſo, and this correſpondence of the Grand Signior with me, obtained me his confidence, and was unknown to his Miniſters until the moment that his Highneſs required of me ſuch ſervices, as, from their nature, became matter of public notoriety.

Whilſt the Viſir, Emin-Pacha, without any of the talents neceſſary either for the Miniſter or the General, blinded by his own perſonal intereſt, fondly imagined that he could preſerve the former ſtation in tranquillity, and fill the latter with glory, by making peace before the commencement of the war. His army, daily increaſed by the concourſe of frantic Muſſulmen, very ſoon became the moſt formidable enemy of the empire. The ſcarcity of proviſions, the diſorder which prevailed amongſt that famiſhed multitude, the plunder which followed from the different diviſions of the army, the maſſacres which were its unavoidable conſequences, authority invariably weak, and always deſpicable, when the adminiſtration is evidently vicious, every thing announced a change of fortune.

The

The Grand Signior, the only perſon who really intereſted himſelf in the ſucceſs of his army, had juſt given his Viſir a new order of diſpoſition; Emin-Pacha had the preſumption to diſobey him; he was deceived in his politics, and his army beaten, and diſperſed; and a ſecond order, more punctually carried into execution, ſoon placed his head on the gate of the Seraglio, with this inſcription:—"*For not having followed the plan of the campaign ſent directly from the Emperor.*"

Moldovandgi ſucceeded him.—This new Viſir, more enterprizing, but not more ſkilful than his predeceſſor, was alſo beaten; but he was lucky enough, in loſing the Viſirate, to loſe only a place, as dangerous, as it is eminent, and which nobody was capable of ſupplying.

To the overbearing ignorance of the General, was joined the impertinent preſumption of the ſubalterns; and the Turks, who drag after them a vaſt train of artillery, every gun of which is badly mounted, and as ill ſerved, thundered upon, on every occaſion, by the cannon of the enemy, took no other vengeance

geance for their loſſes, than by accuſing the Ruſſians of unfairneſs.—" They avail themſelves," ſaid they, " of the ſuperiority of their fire, which it is, in fact, impoſſible to approach; but let them ceaſe that abominable fire,—let them come forward, like brave men, with naked arms,—and we ſhall ſee if theſe infidels can reſiſt the edge of the true believer's ſabre." This multitude of weak fanatics had even the ſtupidity to reproach the Ruſſians for ſome attacks they made during the holy Ramazan. The Grand Signior, however, informed that the howitzers had harraſſed his cavalry, deſired me to give him the model of thoſe pieces, the invention of which was entirely new at Conſtantinople; and to ſatisfy his curioſity reſpecting the fire-arms of every kind, made uſe of in Europe, I ſent this Prince the Memoirs of St. Remy, the plates of which were all he could examine; and when he went out, he made them be carried by one of the perſons of his ſuite.

Sultan Muſtapha, whoſe firſt cares, as we have ſeen, were directed towards the management of his finances, after having expended,

expended, unſucceſsfully, immenſe ſums, began to bargain with his Miniſters for the freſh expences of the plans they were propoſing; and whilſt they, on the one hand, accuſed him of avarice, he reproached himſelf, on the other, with an eaſineſs of temper, which ſerved only, he ſaid, to enrich the knaves who ſurrounded him. It cannot be conceived, in truth, that this Prince could, with a tranquil eye, behold his treaſures diminiſhed, his army diſperſed, and thoſe enemies he had no doubt of ſubduing the firſt campaign, not only victorious on the Danube, but threatening even the Archipelago with an invaſion.

His activity carrying him every where, enabled him to diſcover, at each ſtep he took, freſh abuſes, of which he complained to his Miniſters, never without making them tremble, but always ineffectually, for the promotion of good order; which would have been with difficulty re-eſtabliſhed, even with the beſt diſpoſition on their parts. The freſh troops, which were on their way to the army, from the extremity of Aſia, paſſed the Boſphorus, and halted at Conſtanti-

nople,

nople, not ſo much for the purpoſe of ſoliciting, as of exacting a compoſition from the Porte. Whilſt the chiefs of this volunteer militia were treated about their ſubſidy for the campaign, theſe Aſiatics, diſperſed throughout the capital, armed to the very teeth, lying in wait night and day, in the ſtreets, to rob the paſſengers, haſtened the negociations, from the urgent neceſſity there was of freeing the capital from ſuch a banditti. —The government, too feeble to reſtrain their inſolence, bargained to no purpoſe, and made conceſſions to them without ſhame. Amongſt the number of theſe vagabonds who ſucceeded each other, was a troop from the country of Las ‡, who learn, on their arrival, that ſome Janiſſaries of their company §, are confined in the fortreſs of Yſſar †, on the

‡ The country of Las extends the length of the South ſide of the Black Sea, and includes the towns of Synop and Trebiſonde.

§ This company, which, I believe, is the thirty-fifth, is the more numerous, becauſe the natives of Las never enter into any other, and the number inrolled is thirty thouſand.

† The caſtle wherein the Janiſſaries who are to be puniſhed, or ſtrangled, are confined; an alternative which renders this habitation very perilous.

the Canal. This troop had already ſettled their conditions of ſervice, and of pay; but they ſuper-add, as a neceſſary article, the deliverance of theſe priſoners. The Viſir is afraid either to give way, or to refuſe compliance; ſome expedient muſt be formed. It is agreed, that this body of men ſhall paſs by the caſtle, fire at the gate, and that the governor, apparently compelled to it by this act of hoſtility, ſhall deliver up the criminals. Former examples may juſtify this ridiculous expedient, but it is no leſs a ſtriking inſtance of cowardice in an arbitrary government, becauſe it tends to diſcover the invariable character of deſpotiſm. Power no ſooner ſlips out of the hands of the deſpot, than it is taken poſſeſſion of by the multitude.

Whilſt the weakneſs of the government compelled it to ſhut its eyes to the exceſſes of a licentious ſoldiery, the Miniſters ſtrove to conceal the naval war which threatened the empire. No Ruſſian veſſel had ever made its appearance at Conſtantinople. The Ruſſians, therefore, have no ſhips; or if, by chance, they have any, what does that ſignify to the Turks,

Turks, since there is no communication between the Baltic and the Archipelago? The Danes, the Swedes, whose flags are known to the Turks, could not overturn that argument in their minds; maps spread out before their eyes, had no more effect; and the Divan was not yet persuaded of the possibility of the fact, when they received intelligence of the siege of Coron, the invasion of the Morea, and of the appearance of twelve of the enemy's line of battle ships §.

The uncertainty of the Ministers, however, had not prevented them from preparing some maritime forces. Thirty ships of war were ordered to be got ready with the

§ The ignorance of the Turks in geography, furnishes anecdotes still more striking than the above. —A Venetian Ambassador, coming to Constantinople, with two ships of war of the Republic, fell in with the Grand Signior's fleet in the Archipelago, which, in time of peace, makes an annual cruize, to collect the tribute from the Islands. The Turkish Admiral invites his Excellency on board, to entertain him, and in the course of conversation, asks him if the dominions of the Republic were in the neighbourhood of Russia? Out of patience at this ignorance, the noble Venetian replies, "Yes;—there is nothing but the Ottoman empire between them!"

the utmoſt expedition, and nothing elſe was looked for, with ſo decided a ſuperiority, than the pleaſure of indemnifying themſelves in the Archipelago, for the loſſes they had ſuſtained on the Danube. Finding, alſo, amongſt the archives of the empire, that the laſt war with Ruſſia had occaſioned the equipment of a ſmall fleet of one hundred and fifty half gallies, for the purpoſe of penetrating into the Sea of Zabache, and the particulars found in the account of the expences, ſpecifying none of the motives of this armament, they overlooked the circumſtance that the ports of Aſoph and Taganrog, then in diſpute, had nothing to do with the preſent war. The conſtruction of the gallies was ordered, and carried on with the greateſt expedition.

Theſe preparations increaſing, the concourſe of ſoldiers and ſailors from the two fleets, carried licentiouſneſs to ſuch a pitch, that every day was marked by ſome new cataſtrophe; and M. le Comte de St. Prieſt, Ambaſſador of France, invited by the ſeaſon to his houſe on the Canal, unwilling to deprive himſelf of the pleaſure of a walk,

or

or to expoſe himſelf to the inſults he had already experienced in his carriage, took the reſolution not to ſtir out, as well as thoſe that attended him, without their bayonets at the end of their fuſils. This was the only means of ſafety which could procure reſpect to the perſon of the Ambaſſador from the troops of banditti who were daily paſſing by land and by ſea to join the army. The Palace of France in the country, was ſo ſituated, as that all the boats which went up the Canal muſt paſs under its windows, which were carefully kept ſhut on the ſide next the ſhore. We had gone out after dinner, to take our uſual walk, and were already on the heights of Tarapia, when we heard a pretty ſmart firing of ſmall arms on the ſea, towards the Palace; we ſtopt, to form ſome judgment of the cauſe of it, when the cries of a man coming towards us, determined M. de St. Prieſt to go and meet him. Underſtanding that the Palace was attacked by a band, of theſe villains, we mended our pace, to check their audaciouſneſs, but we were too late; the boat from which they had fired at the Palace, was already at a great

great diſtaance, and although the Ambaſſador eſcaped with a few ſhots through his window-ſhutters, and ſome broken panes of glaſs, from fourteen or fifteen bullets which we found in the ſalloon, the inſult appeared of ſufficient importance to juſtify a complaint to the Porte. An interpreter, ſent for that purpoſe, recounts the circumſtance to the Reis Effendi; who, after liſtening with every apparent ſymptom of the greateſt concern, "What!" ſays he, "theſe raſcals have dared to inſult the Palace of France! They are ideots!—How can they expect to eſcape puniſhment? Do they not know, that on the firſt complaint, they will be ſought after?—Indeed, I cannot but think of it;—it is abſolute madneſs. To attack the Ambaſſador of France!—Had they not on their road plenty of Greek, Jewiſh, and Armenian houſes?—Why did they not attack them, inſtead of bringing us into a ſcrape?

It was thus that the Miniſter lamented the neceſſity of providing for an Ambaſſador's tranquillity, whilſt nothing appeared to him more natural, than to ſacrifice

crifice that of the public. A Colonel of the Janiſſaries had orders to guard the houſe of M. de St. Prieſt. Officers of that corps were ſent, at the ſame time, to the mouth of the Black Sea, to ſeize the guilty perſons, before the departure of the veſſel, which was to carry them to Varna. We were informed that they were taken, and thrown into the ſea; but ſo feeble was the government, that this account, which we knew to be a falſehood, had not even the air of probability. Some time after, an adventure of the ſame kind, the cauſe of which, although leſs ſerious, might have produced diſagreeable conſequences, happened at my door. I lived at Buyukdéré, in the houſe built by M. de Vergennes, during his embaſſy; a quay, which was likewiſe a highway, ſeparated it from the ſea. Some ſoldiers who were paſſing, talked ſo loud, that a parrot, whoſe cage was on a pretty high window, could diſtinguiſh, and repeat ſome very free language, with which, in their gaiety, they were ſeaſoning their converſation. They ſtopt immediately, and abuſed the perſon who dared to turn them into de-

riſion;

riſion; the parrot again repeats after them; they become furious, prepare their arms to aſſault the houſe, and fall upon the inhabitants. The tumult, however, awakened the attention of a Janiſſary, who kept guard in the houſe; and curious to know the cauſe of it, he opens the door the very moment that their rage was going to break forth. Threatened himſelf with being their victim, he enters into an explanation, and tells them of the parrot; they are irritated at his excuſe; and it was not until they had ſeen the culprit, who, fortunately, ſtill continued his imitations, that they could be appeaſed, and relinquiſh their deſign. A few diſhes of coffee, which were accepted of by them, put an end to this quarrel, which it was as difficult to avoid, as to foreſee.

Whilſt the capital, and its environs, were infeſted by a licentious ſoldiery, who had no other courage than that of robbers, the provinces, delivered up to ſimilar diſorders, and haraſſed by the governors with equal impunity, ſuffered every ſpecies of vexation. The principal object of the Miniſters was to provide equally

equally for the ſupply of Conſtantinople, and the ſubſiſtence of the army. This, at once, aggravated, and multiplied the oppreſſions. Meaſures, indeed, had been ſo badly concerted, that the people could not fail of ſuffering doubly, from the no leſs cruel, than imperious precipitation with which the taxes were levied, and from the injuſtice of the agents employed in the collection.

The Turkiſh government may, at all times, be conſidered as an army incamped, of which the commander in chief, from the centre of his head-quarters, iſſues his orders to forage in the neighbourhood. It is thus that the Viſir provided for his army, by the Black Sea; whilſt the capital, having now no other ſubſiſtence than what was drawn from the coaſts of the Archipelago, found it neceſſary to inſure that ſubſiſtence, by a ſuperiority of the naval force prepared againſt the Ruſſians. But although violence had ſucceeded in haſtening the conſtruction, in accelerating the equipment of veſſels, and in aſſembling the multitude of human beings, who were compelled to become ſailors, every thing

thing proclaimed that ignorance and preſumption had directed the preparations.

Veſſels, raiſed on the ſides, but whoſe low batteries were drowned on the leaſt wind, could offer nothing to the enemy but a great deal of timber, and very little fire. Entangled tackling, ropes and blocks which broke on the ſlighteſt exertion, thirty men employed in the gun-room to move the tiller, as they were directed from the deck; no principle of ſtowage, no nautical knowledge, encumbered batteries, cannon of different bores; ſuch was the ſtate of that armament, the conduct of which was neceſſarily entruſted to men ſo ignorant, as to be perfectly contented with it. The ſeveral commands, however, were matter of intereſt; and the Captain Pacha, who makes a perquiſite of the principal appointments, by diſtributing the veſſels of his fleet to the beſt bidder, allowed each Captain the ſame privilege of ſelling the ſubordinate employments of his ſhip; and this little traffic, conſecrated by cuſtom, filled up the meaſure of thoſe malverſations which bid fair to annihilate

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the Turkiſh marine, without the interpoſition of their enemies. Accuſtomed, until that moment, to no other ſervice than annually to harraſs the Archipelago with a ſmall ſquadron, the ſea officers had acquired no military principle, no deſign, no art, no experience of their profeſſion; and, when the fleet ſailed, it ſeemed as if they had no other object but to collect a tribute, which nobody could diſpute with them. *Haſſan* *, alone, an Algerine renegado, appointed the Admiral's Captain, appeared to embark with the intention of making war: but this man, whoſe temerity is unknown, and who always thought that courage alone was all, and ſupplied the want of every thing, was deſirous of ſignalizing himſelf by an invention, as fatal at Icheſmé, as it appeared extraordinary at Conſtantinople. This invention conſiſted of a number of iron bars, which, fixed on the gunwale, projected horizontally beyond the perpendicular of the water, in order to prevent

* The celebrated Haſſan Pacha, who, through employments, military and civil, is at preſent the Captain Pacha.

prevent the enemy from boarding. But if this detail gives us no great idea of the genius of the author, I think I have given a ſufficient accurate notion of the talents of the Turks, to leave no doubt of their admiring this invention.

The continuance of ſoutherly winds, by delaying the departure of the fleet, inſtead of ſerving them to put it in better order, was only favourable to the deſertion of ſailors, and to ſome lucrative oppreſſions, which the Captains continued to exerciſe, under pretence of completing their crews. The land army, in the mean while, although twice ruined, was become more numerous than ever; and the Ottoman empire, vigorouſly attacked by ſea and land, but oppoſing, on all ſides, forces three times more numerous than thoſe of the enemy, gave itſelf up to all the oſtentatious pride of what appeared to them unqueſtionable proſperity.

The abſence of the troops leaving a little tranquillity in the capital, and the preſumptuous hopes of great ſucceſſes, giving the people a more favourable diſ-

poſition, M. le Comte de St. Prieſt, wiſhed to give an entertainment on the marriage of the Dauphin of France. That the Turks might partake of it too, he intended to add to his other preparations, for the balls and the feaſts, which the Europeans only could enjoy, an illumination and a fire-work, which I undertook to prepare. Already the ball-room, built for the purpoſe, was compleated; the fire-works were ready, and nothing remained to be done, but to arrange the decorations, when the news of the deſtruction of both the armies, by land and ſea, ſpread a general conſternation throughout the capital, and put an end to all our preparations.

It was no longer poſſible to think of giving entertainments. The Grand Signior in the moſt diſtracting anxiety, the Miniſters deſponding, the people in deſpair, the capital reduced to the dread of famine and invaſion; ſuch was the preſent ſituation of an empire, which, a month before, thought itſelf ſo formidable. Ignorance, however, which always attempts to flatter that pride which is its inſeparable companion, beheld this double ca-

taſtrophe,

taſtrophe, only as the impenetrable decrees of that Providence, to which it is neceſſary blindly to ſubmit. Not a perſon amongſt the Turks could diſcover, that an undiſciplined multitude contributes more effectually to its own deſtruction, than all the efforts of an oppoſing enemy. But if the want of diſcipline alone was ſufficient to ruin the land army at Craoul, a concurrence of the moſt ſovereign folly, on the part of the Admiral, and his Captains, was neceſſary to complete the deſtruction of the fleet at Tcheſmé.

This fleet, ſailing from the channel of the Dardanelles to ſeek the Ruſſians, after bending its courſe towards Chio, had come to anchor on the coaſt of Aſia, between the main and the Spalmadore Iſlands, before the harbour of Tcheſmé. Some frigates, newly built, with the uſe of which the Turkiſh marine had been unacquainted before this war, anchored on the wings of that long line, were to give ſignals of the ennemy's approach, and had orders to let them embarraſs themſelves in this Streight, where the thirty ſhips, well diſtanced, and riding

at four anchors, were to wait for them. This ingenious ambuſcade, thus prepared, the Ruſſian veſſels, diſpoſed in a more military manner, after doubling Chio, and reconnoitering the advanced Turkiſh ſhips, ſtretched themſelves along to the very center of the line, without their making the ſmalleſt motion to get under way.

The two Admirals, however, finding themſelves on each other's beam, the Ruſſian, after giving him his broadſide, came nearer to the Turk, to throw fire-balls into him, and blew up himſelf during this manœuvre. Haſſan Pacha, at that time, had a flag, (and who furniſhed me himſelf the particulars I am now relating) after ſeeing his veſſel eſcape from this havock, thought himſelf out of danger, when he perceived his ſtern in flames, and his veſſel on the point of ſuffering the ſame fate. Already had his crew thrown themſelves into the ſea, into which he precipitated himſelf, and was lucky enough to get hold of the wreck of the enemy's Admiral, he had the further good fortune to eſcape the ſplinters of his own ſhip, where

where the fire was not long in reaching the powder magazine.

It is eaſy to perceive, that by proportioning the calculation to the importance of the loſs on one ſide, and on the other, that of the Ruſſians, which was infinitely more conſiderable, might juſtify the reſolution they at firſt adopted, of not renewing their attack on the Turks; but the latter, whoſe military knowledge ſcarcely extended to the effects of ſaltpetre, terrified at that which it had juſt produced, calculated only the danger of being blown up ſhould the Ruſſians again attack them. Tcheſmé was immediately the aſylum into which the whole Turkiſh fleet retired in the greateſt diſorder, and ſome cannon, landed in haſte, and placed on the two capes at the mouth of that harbour, quieted the fugitives.

It ſeems as if the Ruſſians were employed, during this interval, in obſerving the movements of the enemy; and one may readily believe, that they heard, with aſtoniſhment, the next day, what had paſſed at Tcheſmé. Unable to attribute this ſtrange conduct of the

Turks to any other motive than a panic, when the moſt unpromiſing enterprize may almoſt always be ſucceſsfully attempted, they preſented themſelves before the harbour, into which they ſent two fire-ſhips. At this appearance of the Ruſſians, the Turks, ſtill terrified at the events of the preceding day, were more bent on ſaving themſelves by land, than on defending their ſhips. But the ſight of two veſſels, ſteering towards the harbour, again awakened in them the idea of conqueſt; and taking them for deſerters, far from endeavouring to ſink them, they put up prayers for their ſafe arrival, fully determined to put their crews in irons, and anticipating the pleaſure of leading them in triumph to Conſtantinople *.

Theſe ſuppoſed deſerters, however, entering the port without difficulty, belayed their rudders, hoiſted their grappling irons, and ſoon vomited forth ſuch clouds of flame, as ſet the whole fleet on fire; the harbour of Tcheſmé, incumbered with veſſels, with powder, and with cannon,

* This anecdote was authenticated to me by the ſame Haſſan Bey whom I have already mentioned.

cannon, exhibited the ſpectacle of a volcano, in which the whole Turkiſh fleet was ſwallowed up. If this cataſtrophe humbled the Ottoman pride, a ſtill more urgent neceſſity ſoon demanded the attention of the Miniſters. Conſtantinople was menaced with an approaching famine. The deſtruction of the Turkiſh fleet, in fact, by abandoning the Archipelago to the Ruſſians, prevented the ſupply of Conſtantinople; and the enemy might even force the Streights, preſent themſelves at the point of the Seraglio, ſack the city, and dictate the law to the Grand Signior. The diſmay was general; and never were apprehenſions better founded. Ignorance, which always does itſelf juſtice, when terror gets the better of preſumption, made no objection to the Grand Signior's order, to abandon to me, without reſerve, the defence of the Dardanelles, and to ſubmit to my diſcretion all reſources for the defence of the capital. This commiſſion, however, could not be granted me without the neceſſary forms, and the Porte loſt no time in filling them up, with the permiſſion of the Ambaſſador of France.

The Reis Effendi, at the ſame time, invited and preſſed me, to concert with him ſuch meaſures as I might think neceſſary in ſo urgent a conjuncture.

I ſhall be ſo frequently under a neceſſity of ſpeaking of the Turkiſh Miniſters, that it may be uſeful to give ſome previous notions of the characters of ſuch of them as were then in office; notions abſolutely neceſſary to theſe details into which I ſhall be indiſpenſably led by circumſtances.

We have already ſeen, that the Grand Signior, ſince his acceſſion to the throne, occupied in ſchemes of œconomy, beheld with regret, his treaſures diſſipated in a war which procured him no ſhare of that glory after which he thirſted. This Prince, however, could not charge the Miniſters about his perſon with the bad ſucceſs of his arms; and if he thought them incapable of remedying theſe misfortunes, it was not in his power, unfortunately, to ſubſtitute men of greater talents in their places. Beſides, it was in the army that diſtinguiſhed talents were wanting; and the Miniſters in poſſeſſion of their maſter's favour, had too much addreſs

addreſs to wiſh to perſuade him that it would be to his advantage to remove them to a diſtance from his perſon.

Iſmael Bay poſſeſſed, to an eminent degree, the difficult art of governing his Sovereign, of conducting all his affairs without hazarding his perſonal tranquillity, and without taking him from his pleaſures.

Iſed Bey, Superintendant of the Mint, was a particular favourite of his maſter, without exciting either jealouſy or hatred; prudent enough not to aſpire to be Miniſter, he made uſe of his credit only to moderate the frequent ill humour of the Grand Signior towards his Miniſters, and dedicated all his attention to the indigent and unfortunate, whom he daily aſſiſted.

Melek Pacha, Caymakam, or Deputy of the Grand Viſir, and brother-in-law to the Grand Signior, was no otherwiſe diſtinguiſhed in that important office, than by his noble countenance, which had induced the Sultana to demand him of her brother. And the High Treaſurer, leſs in favour, but proud of a ſort of fame acquired by his father in the

preceding war, confident of the reputation he was himſelf about to obtain, more vehement than ambitious, was alſo more remarkable for his activity, than for his underſtanding. The Miniſters of the ſecond order, the Mufti himſelf, had too little influence in the government to merit any relation of their perſonal qualities.

Iſmael Bey, who was appointed to confer with me on the ſtate of the Dardanelles, and the danger with which the capital was threatened, thought to conceal the fears of the government, by enveloping our conference in the veil of night. He received me in his private houſe, where I found him taken up with an affair, the importance of which made a powerful diverſion from that which brought us together. This Turk, refined in his moſt trivial luxuries, but childiſhly refined, was deſirous of finding two Canary birds which could ſing the ſame air; his attendants had ſearched the whole city in vain, and the Miniſter was employing other methods to gratify his whim, when I arrived to concert with him the means of averting the cataſtrophe which menaced Conſtantinople.

He

He was not better acquainted with the ſtate of the Dardanelles than myſelf; but it was evident, from the letters of Moldovandgi Pacha, formerly Grand Viſir, and whoſe diſgrace went no further than his appointment to the ſubordinate government of the caſtles on the Canal, with the title of *Defender of the Dardanelles*, that this barrier, hitherto deemed impregnable, was incapable of reſiſting the feebleſt attack. The Ruſſian ſquadron, which paraded, with a favourable wind, in ſight of the firſt caſtles, had only to take advantage of it, to penetrate into the Marmorean Sea, and come under the walls of the Seraglio, to give law to the Grand Signior.

Such was the ſituation of this haughty Court, whoſe humiliating poſition, ſo juſtly calculated to produce the moſt anxious uneaſineſs, was owing entirely to the ignorance of her Miniſters, and the knavery of her ſubordinate officers. The obſervations which I was daily in the way of making on the caſtles more immediately in the neighbourhood of Conſtantinople, built on the ſame ſyſtem, furniſhed me with ſufficient hints of what I had

had to do on my arrival at the Dardanelles. The manner of bringing them to bear on ſhips of war was very difficult. Two ſhips, which not having been able to join their fleet, had eſcaped the conflagration, and were at this time at anchor without the outer caſtles, might have been carried off by the Ruſſian ſquadron before my arrival; and the dock-yard contained only one old veſſel, declared unfit for ſervice. I ſettled it, however, with the Reis Effendi, that this veſſel, refitted in haſte, provided with artillery, ornamented with an Admiral's flag, and laden with thick planks, ſhovels, and pick-axes, and other utenſils, which I pointed out, ſhould ſail as ſoon as poſſibe, to follow me to the Dardanelles.

The captain of a Malteſe corſair, taken ſome years before, and who thinking to better his condition by aſſuming the title of Knight of Malta, had only rendered his ranſom the more difficult, was groaning in irons. M. le Comte de St. Prieſt was deſirous of embracing this opportunity to procure the releaſe of this unfortunate man. With this view, I pleaded the neceſſity of preparing fire-ſhips, and

and feigning ignorance in that reſpect, to give a better colour to the demand I made of this ſlave, I boaſted his talents, and declared that he alone was capable of aſſiſting me. I obtained permiſſion for him to follow me with the veſſel, and received the moſt poſitive aſſurances of his liberty, if I diſcovered in him thoſe talents I declared him to poſſeſs. I was very certain of being able to give him all thoſe which he might not already have of that nature; but I could ſcarcely foreſee, what very ſoon after happened, that this man, apprized by the Turks of the views I had upon him, was ſo ſhallow as not to ſee into my motives, and to diſclaim me. We ſhall preſently ſee a whimſical conſequence of an inſinuation, of which charity was the only motive.

The Grand Signior's impatience to have me at the Dardanelles, did not permit me to wait for any of the materials which were neceſſary to begin my operations ‡. His Highneſs had given orders that

‡ From the flattering hope of ruling the univerſe, the tranſition was ſo rapid to the idea of annihilation, that at the news of the appearance of the Ruſſians, all Conſtantinople loſt their ſenſes; they put up

that every thing ſhould be under my direction. I demanded a Commiſſary, and Muſtapha Bey, grandſon to the celebrated Dganum Codga †, was appointed, and I imediately freighted a French ſhip, to convey me to the Dardanelles. The Commiſſary of the Porte ſet out a few hours before me, and the orders he carried giving me full authority over Moldovandgi Pacha, did not much diſpoſe him in my favour. I thought it ſafer, too, not to rely too much on the myſterious engagement of bread and ſalt, by which we have already ſeen this man enter into an inviolable covenant of friendſhip with me. The dread, however, in which he was kept by the letters he received, and the fear with which he was inſpired by the preſence of an enemy ac-

up public prayers for the ſucceſs of my endeavours; and the Grand Signior, who confided in my zeal, and who, unfortunately, had nothing better to do for the moment, thought he could not breathe until he had ſent me off.

† Dganum Codga was Admiral at the time of the revolution, which, after dethroning Sultan Achmet, continued to threaten his ſucceſſor. The chief of the rebels was killed in the Divan by this Admiral, who by his firmneſs and prudence reeſtabliſhed order.

accuſtomed to beat him, made him diſſemble his diſcontent. This gave me time to appeaſe him, in which I ſucceeded, by flattering his vanity, and we had no apparent difference during my ſtay at the Dardanelles. He only breathed out his ill humour in his firſt letters to the Porte, and the little effect they produced, ſoon put a ſtop to his complaints.

My firſt care was to examine the ſtate of the caſtles; but it was enough to caſt an eye on the ſoldiers entruſted with their defence, to conclude that there was no more dependence to be placed on the defenders than on the fortifications. The panic had ſo far taken poſſeſſion of their minds, that they talked loudly of abandoning the batteries on the firſt cannon-ſhot.

The eſtabliſhed permanence of the Turkiſh garriſons converting every ſoldier into a domicilated citizen, furniſhes him with too many foreign objects of attention, not to divert him from the ſole defence of the citadel wherein he is placed; his cares extend without the walls; the Turkiſh diſcipline, always ſevere, and never exact, is not ſufficient

to

to detain him. One has only to throw a ſingle glance on the conſtruction of the Dardanelles, to perceive the cauſes of this deſertion. Dry walls, raiſed more than thirty feet above the batteries on a level with the water, threatened to crumble to pieces on the guns and the gunners, on the firſt volley from the Ruſſians. The nature of this defence became more dangerous for the Turks, than even the attack of the enemy.

An artillery formidable in appearance, from the largeneſs of the bore, but little to be dreaded after the firſt fire, from the ſlowneſs with which theſe enormous ſwivels could be ſerved, formed the principal batteries of the caſtles of Europe and of Aſia, the fire of which croſſed each other at the Dardanelles, but ſcarcely met at the two caſtles at the entrance. This artillery, entirely of braſs, without carriages, and without trunnions, on ſlanting pieces of wood, whilſt a heap of ſtones propped up the breaches, and hindered the recoil. A number of other pieces, lying on the ſand, as well as ſeveral mortars, ſeemed to reſemble more the ruins of a ſiege, than diſpoſi-

tions

tions to ſtand one. Such was the ſtate of the Dardanelles when I arrived, and the Ruſſian ſquadron of ſeven ſhips of the line, two of which were three-deckers, and two frigates, had only to avail themſelves, unqueſtionably, of the favourable wind which enabled them to block up the mouth of the Streight, to attempt an enterprize, from which Mr. Elphinſton looked for ſucceſs, and againſt which the Turks had nothing to oppoſe.

The channel of the Dardanelles, ſituated at fifty leagues weſt of Conſtantinople, between the Archipelago, and the little Sea of Marmora, ſtretches from the coaſt of Troy, as far as Gallipoli, oppoſite to Lampſacus. This ſpace of about twelve leagues, unequal in breadth, affords different points of view, where the lands of Europe and Aſia, ſeparated by this channel, approach each other within three or four hundred toiſes §. It is on the narroweſt part of the channel, three leagues from the entrance, on the ſide of the Archipelago, that the caſtles, called

§ A toiſe is ſix French, conſequently, ſomething more than ſix Engliſh feet.

called the Dardanelles, are built, from whence the ſhot eaſily traverſes from one ſide to the other. This point of defence has been a long time the only barrier for the ſecurity of Conſtantinople. Alarmed, *at length*, but ſtill as ignorant as ever, the Turks have built two caſtles at the mouth of the Streight, *at the diſtance of about fifteen hundred toiſes, which renders the ſhot uncertain, and the defence inſufficient.*

I have already ſpoken of the two Turkiſh ſhips of war, which the delay of equipment at Conſtantinople had prevented from ſailing with the fleet, and ſaved them from the cataſtrophe of Tcheſmé. Theſe veſſels were anchored between the two caſtles, but they were anchored ſo far out, that they might eaſily have been carried off by the enemy's ſquadron. My firſt care was to give orders to theſe ſhips to enter, that they might bring their broadſides to bear, ſo as to ſupport the batteries of the caſtles, by narrowing the opening of the channel. On an inſpection of the officers and crews, however, I was forced to ſuſpend that order, which they appeared

peared to be incapable of carrying into execution. The wind, although favourable, was not ſufficient to extricate them from their dangerous poſition; and this poſition became exceſſively critical the third day after my arrival.

Whilſt I was at the European caſtle, ſituated at the Streight's mouth, the Ruſſian ſquadron coming in a line out of the Gulph of Eſnos, hawled along the coaſt of Europe towards the point of the caſtle, and had the appearance, by this manœuvre, rather to intend falling upon the two ſhips, to carry them off, than to attempt forcing the paſſage. Either project was very eaſy of execution. A ſingle frigate would have met with no more reſiſtance from the two ſhips of the line, than the whole ſquadron would have encountered from the caſtles. The only remaining advantage we poſſeſſed, and which it was of the utmoſt importance to preſerve, was the enemy's ignorance of our extreme weakneſs. The manœuvre of their ſquadron, ſhewed that they were afraid of expoſing themſelves to the fire of heavy batteries; I had, however, to oppoſe to them only one iron culverin, bored,

bored, indeed, for a ball of ſixty pounds. The Turks had abandoned, rather than placed this piece without the caſtle: it was ſupported by two thick planks, and pointed perpendicularly towards the courſe of the ſquadron.

A promontory, one hundred toiſes forward, on which were placed ſome cannon of ſmall bore, concealed this culverin, which could not, in this poſition, be diſcovered by the Ruſſians, until the moment of their quitting the Gulph, and at the very inſtant when they would be expoſed to its fire; but the cape leaving the creſt of the walls, as well as the houſes in the neighbourhood of the fortreſs, expoſed, the ſquadron gave us their broadſides; and this briſk, but ineffectual cannonade, might have produced the good effects of accuſtoming the Turks to fire, had they not been utterly incapable of diſcipline. They diſappeared at the firſt ſhot, and I had the utmoſt difficulty to keep with me ſeven or eight men to ſerve the culverin, the only means of defence I was maſter of. Still it was neceſſary to wait till the enemy placed themſelves in the line of its fire:

fire: this piece was immoveable, but that very immobility enſured the ſucceſs of the firſt ſhot, which was fired at a frigate belonging to their van. This frigate immediately fell aſtern, and the ſecond ſhot was ready for the following veſſel; but the cannonade of the Ruſſians continued beyond the cape, and the fleet went about, after having fired eight or nine hundred ſhot over our heads. I obſerved that ſeveral of theſe balls burſt in the air, and they brought me ſome ſhells which had not burſt. This attempt, repeated three ſucceſſive days, in the ſame order, and at the ſame hour, by obliging me to defend this poſt, prevented me from preparing more efficacious means of defence; but I tried an experiment which appeared to me likely to drive away the enemy from the coaſt. With this view, on my arriving in the evening at the Dardanelles, I made them draw out a ſmall piece of cannon, taken from the Venetians, and, after having made them heat ſome balls, and loaded the piece, I gave the ſpectators, who always followed me in crowds, a ſmall ſpecimen of red hot bullets. The Pacha,

cha, and the Turks, who ſaw this experiment, already imagined the Ottoman empire avenged for the burning of its fleet. Grates, and coals, and bellows, were preparing during the night, at the battery on the cape, which the Ruſſians had always preferred cannonading; but if the Turks ſtrove eagerly to execute the orders I had juſt given, ſome Greeks took as good care, no doubt, to acquaint the Ruſſians with it: their fleet approached the coaſt no more, and they ſeemed to limit their future projects to the ſiege of Lemnos.

The firſt uſe I made of the tranquillity I had juſt procured myſelf, was to make ſure of the two ſhips, which appeared to be the bone of contention. I loſt no time in ſending them about four hundred Jews, whom we collected at the two caſtles, and who, in ſpite of the Sabbath, laboured to tow theſe veſſels out of danger. This operation, too, taking them out of the line of the currents, a freſh wind, which blew a few days after, brought them up to the ſecond caſtles where their artillery was more neceſſary.

The

The ſuperfluous waters which fall into the Black Sea, and which it is unable to evaporate, poured into the Mediterranean by the Thracian Boſphorus, and the Propontis, form ſuch violent currents at the Dardanelles, that ſhips, with all their ſails ſpread, can ſcarcely ſtem them. Beſides, the pilots muſt obſerve, when they have ſufficient wind, to ſhape their courſe in ſuch a manner, as to preſent the leaſt poſſible reſiſtance to the force of the water. The ſtudy of this is neceſſarily founded on the direction of the currents, which, driven from one point to another, form obſtacles to the navigation, and would occaſion the greateſt riſks to the mariner, if proper attention were not given to this hydographical knowledge. This was moſt aſſuredly the only ſort of inſtruction the pilots of the two Turkiſh ſhips were capable of affording me; and I derived, from their courſe, a very uſeful inſight into the ſituations which appeared to me the moſt advantageous for the defence of the channel. I ſaw, in fact, that a battery, placed on the *Pointe des Barbier's*, (Barber's Point) between the firſt and ſecond caſtles, by making a croſs

croſs fire with another battery, which might be erected at a proper diſtance, on the promontory, on the European ſide, would give the Turks the advantage of battering the ſtem and ſtern of ſuch veſſels as might attempt to force the paſſage; whilſt the enemy, to return both their broadſides, muſt lay their ſide to the currents, a manœuvre which would infallibly compel them to drive with the ſtream. This diſpoſition would alſo give the Turkiſh artillery the additional advantage of employing bar-ſhot, with effect, againſt their ſails, at full ſtretch, from the freſh wind, neceſſary for attempting the paſſage, which muſt ſoon be ſhattered, and unfit even to ſecure the veſſels againſt being wrecked upon the coaſt. Another powerful motive, decided me to adopt this ſyſtem of defence. Theſe batteries commanded the anchorage of the *Taches Blanches* *, (the White Spots). They would keep up a fire,

* A Creek in the channel, on the coaſt of Aſia, between the firſt and ſecond caſtles. This is the only anchoring ground of the channel, where the enemy could have attempted to eſtabliſh themſelves, after forcing the paſſage of the firſt gut.

fire, almoſt uninterruptedly, to the Dardanelles; and it was clear to me, that this diſpoſition muſt enſure the ſafety of Conſtantinople, if the Turks would but tolerably ſerve the artillery I was about to place. Another point, nearer the caſtles of the Dardanelles, in Europe, called *la Pointe des Moulins*, (the Mill Point,) being likewiſe capable of croſſing the fire from the battery of the *Barbier's*, and the Aſiatic caſtle, ſeemed proper for the conſtruction of another battery, and I determined to eſtabliſh a fourth, on the banks of the Simois, to ſerve by way of epaulement to the fortreſs which joins it; and which, for the reaſon I have already given, was not tenable.

Whilſt I was taken up with theſe arrangements, and the neceſſary orders were given to collect the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, to execute this work by *Corvées* †, Moldovandgi Pacha, who wiſhed, no doubt, to make himſelf talked of, conceived the project of repairing the walls of an old caſtle of

† Public works on the highways, &c. executed by the peaſants, at the arbitrary diſcretion of government, a grievance long and heavily complained of in France.

the Genoeſe, ſituated on the top of a promontory, from whence is diſcovered the Archipelago, and which, although in ſight of the entrance of the channel, was ſo lofty, and ſo diſtant, that its ſhot barely reached the ſea, into which they plunged in the form of a parabola. Moldovandgi had not ſaid a word to me of his plan; but although it was expenſive, and entirely uſeleſs for defence, I beſtowed on it the higheſt commendations. I ſubmitted, likewiſe, to the inſtances of the Pacha, who made me climb up this rock, to examine his works; I there found two or three hundred maſons building, on the old foundation, a dry wall of eighteen inches thick, whilſt a great number of carpenters were forming, within this incloſure, the barracks for the garriſon; but what aſtoniſhed me the moſt, was the anxiety with which the Pacha made them white-waſh the walls. One muſt judge from this, that he did not aim at maſking his battery; the enemy could diſcover it ten leagues off at ſea, but ſurely without being much terrified at the ſight; this, however, was the ſole object of Moldovandgi, and

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ſuch was the terror of the Turks, that every method of keeping the enemy at a diſtance, appeared preferable to that of beating them in caſe they ſhould attempt to force a paſſage, which nature had done her part to render impregnable.

This diſpoſition of their minds, determined me to form the batteries of two and twenty feet thickneſs. The united labours of the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages had already raiſed the epaulements of earth, and faſcines; but the government had provided them only with a few tents to protect them from the weather, nor were any meaſures adopted for the aſſiſtance of theſe unhappy people, whoſe crops, abandoned by them during this interval, were daily going to deſtruction before their eyes.

M. le Baron de Pontécoulant, who had accompanied M. le Comte de St. Prieſt to Conſtantinople, propoſing to return to France, was unwilling to ſet out under circumſtances ſo critical for the Ottoman empire, without making me a ſhort viſit, to form, on the ſpot, an accurate idea of the Dardanelles. He arrived when my plans were ſufficiently

traced out to enable him to form a judgment; he saw, at the same time, the discouragement, the confusion, and habitual indifference of the Turks. The Pacha, wholly occupied in white-washing the wretched walls he had built, out of the reach of cannon, thought he was aiding me sufficiently by not throwing difficulties in my way; and the Commissary of the Porte, employed to defray all the expences I might think necessary, neglected such as were useful, and bestowed his time in loading his accounts with all those which his imagination could invent.

Their own character was, without doubt, the most dangerous enemy the Turks had to contend with; it was also the enemy which gave me the most uneasiness. But as on the most difficult occasions, it is always a capital error to neglect the smallest resources, I thought I might derive some advantage from the arrival of the Baron de Pontécoulant; and after having apprized him of my project, I presented him to the Pacha as an Inspector sent to me by the Ambassador of France. I passed him off as a person

perſon ſent to examine the ſtate of the Dardanelles, to give an account of it to the Grand Signior, and afterwards to ſet out for France, to convey the information to the Emperor, my maſter. M. de Pontécoulant played his part perfectly well; he expreſſed all the ill humour we had agreed upon, and this ſtratagem gave a little more activity to the Pacha. This Viſir thought he owed likewiſe the higheſt reſpect to *Monſieur l'Inſpecteur*, and when M. de Pontécoulant took leave of him, he commiſſioned me to beg his acceptance of a ſmall preſent in money, which is the height of politeneſs amongſt the Turks. We were not quite of that opinion, but as a refuſal would have perſuaded the Pacha that we had an intention of injuring him at the Porte, and that this idea would have put him out of humour, I prevailed on M. de Pontécoulant to overcome his repugnancy for Oriental politeneſs; and the boatmen who had brought him, profiting by the preſent, were highly ſatisfied with French delicacy.

This journey, which had no other object than curioſity, but which I had juſt

turned to good account, became very ſoon a cauſe of the moſt anxious uneaſineſs to the Grand Signior. M. de Pontécoulant, delayed by contrary northerly winds on his return, and forced to land on the coaſt of Europe, above Gallipoli, and take horſes there, arrived by land at Conſtantinople. The guards of the cuſtom-houſe, who keep watch at the gate of Adrianople, ſtop, and examine him; aſtoniſhed to ſee an European, they inquire who he is, and from whence he comes? and on his anſwering that he is the Bey Zade of France *, and that he comes from the Dardanelles, the guards taking him for me, ſuffer him to paſs without further explanation, and fly to announce my return to the Grand Viſir, who haſtens to communicate the intelligence to the Grand Signior. Every body is in conſternation, the Dardanelles are ſuppoſed to be forced, and his Highneſs immediately diſpatches a confidential meſſenger to M. de St. Prieſt, to inquire of him the meaning of my return; but the Ambaſſador explaining the miſtake, and furniſhing

* A Gentleman of France; an expreſſion that the Turks had long made uſe of in ſpeaking of me.

furniſhing the Grand Signior with ſome obſervations of M. de Pontécoulant, reſtored the tranquillity of the Prince and his Miniſters.

I was one evening at Moldovandgi Pacha's, which was near my lodgings, and who began to treat me with a good deal of confidence, when a Turk appears, and reminds him of the promiſe he had made him to ſpeak to me in his favour. "Aye, that is true!" ſays the Pacha, "I do recommend this man to you; you may reap great advantage from him; he has a moſt ſurprizing talent for throwing bombs; a trifling leſſon from you will make him excellent. We have juſt been ſeeing him make a proof, which would have had the moſt complete ſucceſs, but for an accident, the cauſes of which we cannot diſcover, but the mortar burſt, and has laid ſeven men dead on the ſpot." Whilſt he was talking, I examined this man of talents, and diſcovered, from the ſhape of his turban, that he was a Cryer of the Moſques. I congratulate him on his good fortune in eſcaping from his proof unhurt, and aſk him ſome queſtions on his proceeding.—"I have done every thing,"

thing," ſays he, "that was neceſſary; and notwithſtanding the accident which has happened to my firſt bomb, I am very ſure I omitted nothing to inſure its ſucceſs." "Let us ſee," ſays I to him, "give me the particulars of your proceeding." "Firſt," replied he, "the mortar being placed on its carriage, I pointed it towards the ſea; I filled the chamber with powder, and then rammed it with earth beaten by a mallet; after which, I filled the ſhell with gunpowder;—"You ſee," ſays the Pacha, interrupting us, "that he is a clever fellow."—"Go on,"—ſaid I, to his favourite. "I placed," continued he, "the ſhell in the mortar, and ſet fire to it."——"What! without a fuzee?" I cried out, "—Ah, ſorry wretch that thou art! thou oughteſt to have been the firſt of thoſe victims who have been ſacrificed to thy ignorance. But is it poſſible, that with the quantity of mortars deſtined for the defence of theſe caſtles, there ſhould not be a ſingle bombardier who knows that one does not fire off ſhells without a fuzee?"—"This is a convincing proof, however," ſays the Pacha, "that

" that very little is wanting to make him a clever fellow; and I renew to you the requeſt I have already made, to finiſh his education." Compelled, in ſome meaſure, to ſubmit to ſuch folly, I ſent in ſearch of the ſtore-keeper; we examined the condition of his ſtores, without being able to find even the firſt ingredients neceſſary in the compoſition of a fuzee. The Pacha, however, inſiſted hard for the Cryer, and deſired that I would make a proof before him. I was ſo very little intereſted in ſatisfying him, that really it was not worth the trouble; but as one always ſuffers by ſaying no, to ignorance, I determined to make my carpenter contrive an indifferent turning machine, with which I turned ſome fuzees, and procured ſome ſaltpetre and brimſtone, and I prepared my compoſition; I then loaded ſeveral before my pupil, making him obſerve all the circumſtances neceſſary to ſucceſs, and the bombs were fired in the evening, to the great ſatisfaction of Moldovandgi, who waited for nothing but ſuch a proof of talents in his favourite, to inſtall him bombarbier in chief. Such, however,

was the aukwardneſs of this man, that after ſeveral days labour, he could not attain the manner of charging a fuzee, to make it fit for ſervice; and my new ſcholar, diſheartened with the toil, but no leſs eager of glory, had again recourſe to his protector. He exclaimed againſt the difficulty of the method I employed, and ſolicited anew his intereſt, to engage me to ſhew him how to fire ſhells without fuzees. But what will appear ſtill more ridiculous, this Viſir, who had obliged the enemy to raiſe the ſiege of Kotchim, and afterwards commanded the Ottoman army, had the ſtupidity to adopt his favourite's propoſition.

We may judge, from this ſingle anecdote, how far the Turks were in a ſtate of defending themſelves, and of how much importance it was to conceal their weakneſs from the enemy. It was not, however, from the Greeks, who were known to be ſpies, that dangerous diſcoveries might be dreaded. Accuſtomed to bend under the yoke of Ottoman deſpotiſm, and as ignorant as the Turks, every thing which belonged to the latter, naturally commanded reſpect. But it

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was neceſſary to prevent the Europeans from expoſing our ſituation, and this was the object of the embargo which took place ſoon after the burning of the fleet. A great number of ſhips, of all nations, were already ſtopped at the Dardanelles, and, for a conſiderable time, the Turks had given up the navigation of the Archipelago *. The proviſions I had demanded of the Porte were arrived, and I was in expectation of no more veſſels, when a large ſaic ‡ appeared, bearing

* During the whole war, neutral veſſels, only, were employed to carry corn on the Grand Signior's account, and the Porte gave the French a preference, very advantageous to the merchants eſtabliſhed at Conſtantinople. I muſt not, in this note, omit a commercial ſpeculation capable of enlightening the policy of nations. An Engliſh veſſel, laden with rice, came from Carolina directly to Conſtantinople, relying on the intelligence of the public newspapers. She was commanded by Captain Grieſwold, addreſſed to nobody, and ſold her cargo in the harbour.

‡ A ſort of Turkiſh veſſel, whoſe conſtruction is peculiarly adapted to the Black Sea, without being fit, however, for any ſort of navigation. Theſe veſſels, in fact, unable to lie on their ſides in bad weather, are frequently loſt upon the coaſt, when, being obliged to run before the wind, they have not enough ſea room.

ing down with all her ſails ſet. I obſerved, alſo, that this veſſel, inſtead of coming to, in the anchorage of the others, kept the ſtream of the current, and ſteered her courſe between the caſtles: I then ſuppoſed that ſhe was laden with ammunition, and was making for the magazine; but I ſoon perceived grappling irons at each end of the yard, and it then occurred to me, that the Porte, recollecting the requeſt I had made of the Malteſe ſlave for the conſtruction of fire-ſhips, on his refuſal, were anxious to replace him. But I was not a litte ſtruck with the fore-ſight of hoiſting grappling irons at ſixty leagues diſtance from the enemy. The veſſel, however, having paſſed the anchorage, a cannon ſhot from each bank, warned her to lower her ſails, but without effect. I had gone into the caſtle of Aſia to take a nearer view of this incendiary. A ſecond gun, with ſhot, was fired; and when I ſaw that a third, pointed nearer to him, produced no more effect, and that he was about to paſs us, I ordered him to be fired at, with the recommendation to do him as little damage as poſſible. The ſkill of

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the gunner luckily carried away only his figure head. But the confuſion occaſioned by this accident on board the veſſel, made him ſoon bring to, and a detachment of the guard, ſent on board to ſeize the captain, after anchoring the veſſel, brought me this zealous Muſſulman.

One muſt paint to oneſelf that ignorant fanaticiſm which devotes, and imagines itſelf alone equal to the deſtruction of the enemy's fleet, to form an idea of the fury of this madman on ſeeing himſelf ſtopped in his cruize, and brought before the tribunal of a Chriſtian: we were all traitors in his eyes, who, in concert with the Ruſſians, prevented him from going to avenge the true-believers for the diſgrace of Tcheſmé. He reproached, alſo, the Turks around me, with the reſpect they ſhewed for me. Every effort was made uſe of to calm him, but he did not begin to liſten to reaſon till the next day, when his head was ſufficiently cool to make him ſenſible of all the follies his phrenzy had ſuggeſted.

Notwithſtanding the pains taken by the

the Commiſſary of the Porte, to collect the inhabitants of neighbouring villages, who were able to work, to aſſiſt in raiſing the epaulements of the batteries, with the addition of ſome Jews, the number of workmen was ſtill inſufficient, and I could not undertake all the works at one time. Thoſe of the Pointe des Barbier's, however, got forward, notwithſtanding the plague, which daily carried off my workmen*. Obliged, however, to be in the midſt of them, this diſtemper was not amongſt the ſmalleſt of the diſagreeable circumſtances of my ſituation; but unable to avoid a neceſſary communication with them, I abſtained only from all ſuch as were not ſerviceable to my undertaking; and when a ſtorm collected the workmen under tents, ſet up for that purpoſe, I continued in the rain, and I think I may attribute my eſcape from the diſorder, to that ſole precaution.

I have already obſerved, that the government took no care to provide ſubſiſtence

* On ſome days the plague carried off from the works at the Pointe des Barbier's alone, twenty workmen, ſeveral of whom did not ſurvive three hours after the firſt ſymptoms of the diſorder.

ſiſtence for the workmen, who daily curſed them; and I would not loſe that opportunity of making them bleſs me, by loading the boat that brought me, every morning, with water, melons, and bread, which I ordered to be diſtributed to the labourers before they went to work.

A Turkiſh inhabitant of the caſtle of Europe, one of the principal men of the diſtrict, after having aſſiduouſly attended to the works I had conſtructed, and made many attempts himſelf to bind the fauciſſons, and place them, deſires me to leave to him, the execution of a battery I had marked out at the Pointe des Moulins, ſituated in the neighbourhood. "My workmen are ready," ſaid he; "I promiſe you they will work hard, and I only aſk of you, to come ſometimes and inſpect me." The zeal and application of this Turk, prejudiced me in his favour; I willingly accepted his offer. The next morning the ſhore was covered with carts, laden with branches of trees, and I ſaw the engineer pointing out to the workmen the uſe they ought to make of them. Scrupulouſly attached to my method,

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my rival neglected nothing to regale, at his expence, the poor people who worked under his orders. This was one of the beſt finiſhed batteries; and the Commiſſary of the Porte, aſtoniſhed at his zeal and underſtanding, and ſtill more ſtruck at the expence he had incurred from pure diſintereſtedneſs, gave an account of it to the Porte, and received orders to commend his zeal, and make him a preſent of three hundred piaſters by way of indemnity. Accordingly the Turk was ſent for, and received, and receiving rather coldly, the compliments of the Commiſſary, abſolutely refuſed the proferred recompence, adding, "That to receive the price of it, would be taking from the merit of the good work he had been engaged in, and that it would be too diſgraceful for the Ottoman empire, to ſee a Frenchman ſacrificing himſelf for its defence, whilſt not a ſingle Turk deigned to employ his talents or his fortune in ſo important a buſineſs." This excellent patriot remained unſhaken, in ſpite of every ſolicitation; and the Commiſſary was all admiration when I reached his houſe; but he was ſtill more ſurprized

prized not to be able to make me partake of his aſtoniſhment. "That is incredible to me," ſays he, looking at the fifteen piles of money, lying on the ground; "I cannot conceive it poſſible to refuſe ſuch a ſum." In fact, nothing is ſo uncommon as to find a Turk ſcrupulous and delicate on that head.

The troops deſtined by the Grand Signior to the defence of the Streights, arrived from all parts. They compoſed a body of 30,000 men; 15,000 of whom were Aſiatics, and 15,000 of Turkey in Europe. But this multitude, of whom I have already given an idea, more capable of creating confuſion, than of ſerving to defend the batteries, could ſcarcely be kept in order by the ſeverity of the Pacha, the whole extent of whoſe talents went no further, than to diminiſh the number of mutineers by the number of executions.

Notwithſtanding the inconveniencies and embarraſſments we ſuffered, from the undiſciplined ſtate of theſe troops, the neceſſity of preſenting, at leaſt, a numerous appearance of forces capable of impoſing on the enemy, compelled us

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to employ every method to prevent the deſertions with which we were continually threatened. The expedient which appeared to me the moſt feaſible, was to ſeparate all the troops from the vicinity of their own reſpective dwellings, by an arm of the ſea, paſſing the fifteen thouſand Aſiatics over into Europe, and the fifteen thouſand Europeans into Aſia. Theſe diſpoſitions made, the difficulty of eſcaping the rigorous puniſhment of their diſorders, rendered them ſomewhat leſs frequent; but nothing could get the better of the cowardice of theſe wretches, who were not aſhamed, loudly to declare their unwillingneſs to occupy the batteries. I laboured, however, to perfect them, and after having encircled, that of the *Barbier's*, with a covered way, to preſerve it from a ſurprize by land, I came to the caſtles, where I had eſtabliſhed my work-houſes for the conſtruction of gun-carriages, which we were in abſolute want of. It was now a long time ſince any boat had entered the channel, when we ſaw one appear, filled with Turks armed to the very teeth: they were conducting ſeven unfortunate Greeks,

Greeks, owners of this little boat. The Turk, who appeared to have the command of them, lands, and announcing to the people assembled, a Russian prize, desires to speak to the Pacha. Being immediately introduced, he affirms that the prisoners are Russian spies; their sentence of death is instantly pronounced; but he makes a particular complaint against the insolence of one of these pretended spies, who, being master of the boat, and violently attacked, had dared to take aim at him; and, as a reparation for this outrage, demands the Pacha's permission to be himself his executioner. Whilst they were thus proceeding to judgment, and he was making this extraordinary demand, I was taking exact informations of the fact, to supply that formality which the justice of the Pacha made him totally neglect. I learnt that these unfortunate Greeks, inhabitants of Mitylene, had only been out a-fishing, and were no otherwise culpable, than in having resisted, on former occasions, the oppressions of the Turks: he had watched them, in consequence, on purpose to attack them under the specious

cious pretext of their being ſpies; and the execution followed the ſentence ſo cloſely, that, unable to prevent it, by coming at the truth, I had only the horrid certainty of having ſeen the innocent periſh.

I have already ſhewn, from the deſcription of the caſtles, that the immenſe artillery they contained, could only be of uſe in the defence of the channel, by diſpoſing them to more advantage. The Simois, that ſo celebrated river, but which is, in fact, only a ſmall gulley, where the rain water, forming a torrent, ruſhes down the mountain, and falls into the ſea below the caſtle of Aſia. This appeared to me an advantageous ſituation for a battery, which, ſerving by way of epaulement to the caſtle, might contain a part of its artillery, and the approaches to which would be defended by this ravine. By this diſpoſition, I took in the ſide of the caſtle which enfiladed the channel with its battery. It was with this view that the Turks had already placed there an enormous ſwivel, the ball of which, made of marble, weighed eleven hundred pounds. This piece, caſt in bronze,

bronze, in the reign of Amurath, was compoſed of two parts, joined by a ſcrew, at the ſeparation of the chamber from the barrel, in the manner of an Engliſh piſtol. The breech was ſupported by a maſs of ſtone, and was only raiſed on great logs of wood, ſlanted, and diſpoſed to that effect, under a ſmall vaulted cover, which ſerved as an embraſure. I could not employ this ſwivel in the external works, and as they were ſo arranged as to maſk its fire, the Turks murmured at the ſort of contempt with which I ſeemed to treat an implement of deſtruction, which was undoubtedly the moſt extraordinary in the univerſe. The Pacha made ſeveral remonſtrances on the occaſion. He agreed with me, that the difficulty of loading it, would not admit its being fired above once, in caſe of an attack; but he thought that ſingle fire would do ſo much havock, and the ball fly ſo far, that, according to the general opinion, this ſwivel, alone, would deſtroy the enemy's whole fleet. It was eaſier for me to give way to this reaſoning, than to overturn it; and, without changing the plan of defence, I could, by cutting down

down the epaulement in the direction of the piece, contrive to give it play; but I was desirous of first trying the effect of the ball. The company shuddered at this proposal; the old men assured me, from an ancient tradition, that this piece, which never had been fired, would produce such an agitation as to overturn the castle and the town. It was very probable, in fact, that some pieces of the wall might fall, but I assured them, that the Grand Signior would not regret that loss, and that the direction of the piece did not allow me to suppose that the town could suffer from the explosion. Never, doubtless, had cannon a more formidable reputation: friends, enemies, every thing was to suffer from it. It was now a month since the resolution had been taken to load this swivel, whose chamber contained three hundred and thirty pounds of powder. I sent for the master-gunner to prepare the priming; they who heard me give that order, disappeared immediately, to get out of the way of danger. The Pacha himself was preparing to retreat, and it was only by the most pressing instances, and the most accurate demonstrations, that he would

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run no risk in a little kiosk at the corner of the castle, from whence he might observe the effect of the ball, that I could prevail on him to occupy that post. I still had to overcome the fears of the master-gunner; and although he was the only person that had not fled, the arguments he used to excite my compassion, did not bespeak much bravery. It was only by promising him, therefore, to share in the danger, that I succeeded in allaying his fears, rather than inspiring him with courage. I was on the heap of stones behind the piece when he fired it; a commotion similar to that of an earthquake, preceded the report. I then saw the ball, split in three pieces, at the distance of six hundred yards across the channel, rebounding frequently from the water to the opposite hill, and leaving the surface of the sea foaming the whole breadth of the channel. This proof removed the chimerical apprehensions of the Pacha and the gunners, and convinced me of the tremendous effects of such a ball, and I ordered the epaulement to be cut accordingly in its direction.

This battery, which covered the castle, was intended to contain a part of the hea-

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vy artillery, the carriages of which, ſince my arrival at the Dardanelles, I had ordered to be repaired in the moſt eſſential points, by a French carpenter I had procured for the purpoſe, and who, from his abilities, was of very great ſervice to me on every occaſion.

Amongſt the number of pieces which were to ſerve on this battery, an enormous culverin, carrying ſixty pound balls, was ſo incumbered with the vault, which ſerved for an embraſure, that this inconvenience, joined to its great weight, baffled the ordinary means of removing theſe pieces. I demanded the tackling I ſtood in need of from the ſhips of war, but the Grand Signior's navy was ſo ill provided, that my reſearches were in vain. I could not help making ſome reproaches on the ſubject to the famous Haſſan, now Captain Pacha, who was that time no more than the Admiral's flag Captain. This man, whom we have ſince ſeen diſtinguiſhing himſelf by his temerity, convinced me that he thought good will might ſupply the want of that knowledge which requires the moſt profound application. "What will you do," ſays he to me, with ropes and blocks?—

blocks?—What ſignifies taking this method, when we have hands enow at your ſervice?—Show me the weight of what you want to move, and the place it is to be conveyed to;—leave the reſt to me." "What," ſaid I, "you will carry by the hand a gun that weighs 7000 lb. weight?—How many men will you put to this work?"—"Five hundred, if neceſſary," replied he, briſkly; "what matters the number, provided the work be accompliſhed?" "I perceive," ſaid I to Moldovandgi, who was preſent at this ſingular diſcourſe, "that the brave Haſſan thinks nothing impoſſible:—Let us ſee where his five hundred men will find room to place their hands.

Whilſt Haſſan was collecting his means, and we were preparing to go and judge of the uſe he would make of them, I ſent my carpenter to bring half a dozen ſailors from a French ſhip, with ropes and braſs pullies, which I had in vain inquired for on board the Admiral's ſhip. Arrived at the culverin with the Pacha, we ſoon ſaw Haſſan, with his vigorous companions, make their appearance, all of them confident of the ſucceſs for

which their leader had undertaken. But the firſt thirty who flew to the work, getting round the piece, where there was ſcarce room for them, reduced their comrades to be ſimple ſpectators of the vain efforts they made to move it. This firſt eſſay was renewed by others, whoſe endeavours were equally ineffectual. Haſſan, piqued at theſe difficulties, was expreſſing his aſtoniſhment at the reſiſtance he met with, and had juſt acknowledged his defeat, when the ſix ſailors I had ſent for arrived, with the neceſſary implements; every thing was ſoon got ready, and in leſs than a quarter of an hour, the piece was conveyed to the platform. It was ſtill to be placed on its carriage; and on this occaſion, Haſſan imagining that my ſix ſailors were by no means equal to the taſk, offered me the aſſiſtance of his. "To what purpoſe?" ſaid I, in my turn; "four of my people are ſufficient." I then ſent for a crab, which I had ordered to be made, with the uſe of which the Turks are totally unacquainted, and it was with the moſt extreme admiration that they beheld this enormous piece

raiſed

raiſed with eaſe by the exertions only of four men; a manœuvre by no means extraordinary elſewhere, but which produced a wonderful effect on Haſſan and his companions.

We have already ſeen, that the Ruſſian ſquadron, getting out of the reach of the red-hot ſhot, went to form the ſiege of Lemnos. Few nights, however, paſſed, in which terror, that ſees every thing it fears, did not give us ſome alarm; and as ſoon as the cannon of the firſt caſtles were heard, from whence the ſhot was laviſhed on the firſt phantom the guards imagined they beheld, thoſe of the Dardanelles thought they ſaw the enemy under their batteries. The confuſion which reigned on ſuch occaſions, ſhowed me plainly what was to be expected, in caſe of real danger. To make the Turks loſe this habit of terrifying themſelves at nothing, and to enable them to diſtinguiſh their enemy, before they had any thing to fear, I prepared fire-balls to be ſent up on the firſt alarm. This expedient ſucceeded beyond my wiſhes; and ſo ſpeedy a method of diffuſing a quantity of light on the quarter of the ene-

my, ſoon perſuaded the Turks, that as they could ſee them, without being themſelves diſcovered, even the night itſelf was in their favour.

The works were completed, the artillery planted, the magazines of ammunition amply ſtored, and nothing remained but to man the batteries. But it was previouſly neceſſary to eſtabliſh in the public opinion the fact, that works of twenty-two feet thick, ſecured men's lives from danger more than dry walls, which might crumble to pieces on the firſt volley; but habit prevailed. I had accounts from all parts, that the troops deſtined for the batteries, would only appear there to have the appearance of obedience, but with a firm intention of abandoning them on the firſt appearance of the enemy. I then determined on an expedient, which would have been highly ridiculous, had it not been the only method capable of convincing ignorance. I announced the proof of the batteries for the next morning, at ten o'clock. I went quite alone to that of the *Barbier*'s, whilſt my own people had orders to occupy the oppoſite battery, to point the guns

guns to the work which covered me, and to begin their fire as ſoon as the boat that conveyed me ſhould be out of the line. There was a great crowd, eager to behold the new ſpectacle, and all the thirty-ſix round-ſhot burying themſelves in the work, behind which I had placed myſelf, without doing any miſchief, convinced the Turks that they might take my place without danger; they ſtill gave a decided preference, however, to the battery which had been proved, and were with difficulty perſuaded that all the others poſſeſſed the ſame advantage. The diſpoſition of the works from the mouth of the channel, to the point of Nagara, where I eſtabliſhed the laſt batteries, now preſented an uninterrupted ſeries of croſs fires to the enemy, for the ſpace of ſeven leagues. I had a right to preſume, likewiſe, that not having attempted to force the paſſage when the channel was without defence, the Ruſſians had abandoned the project. I was ſtill further ſenſible, that my preſence would be more uſeful at Conſtantinople, than at the Dardanelles, even for the defence of the caſtles, if I could ſucceed

in improving the conſtruction of gun-carriages, and the ſchool of artillery, two objects equally intereſting.

The little road of Nagara, where more than threeſcore European veſſels were detained, afforded me the opportunity of hiring a French ſhip, on board of which I embarked, and which brought me within ſix leagues of Conſtantinople, where we met with contrary winds; but I was too impatient to purſue my operations, to give way to that difficulty, and procuring a boat with four oars, I was conveyed to the capital. My firſt care was to inform the government, that if Conſtantinople had no longer any thing to apprehend from the appearance of the Ruſſian fleet, it was neceſſary to its tranquillity to prevent the little harraſſing deſcents the enemy might make in the Gulph of Eſnos. No meaſures, in fact, had been taken to guard that coaſt; and although theſe incurſions could have no other object than to lay waſte ſome villages, ſuch was the ſituation of the people's minds, that the news of the landing of two hundred men, ſwelling until it had reached the capital, might have

have produced the greateſt confuſion. Theſe conſiderations, ſubmitted by me to the Grand Signior, determined his Highneſs to raiſe his Selictar to the dignity of Pacha with three tails, with the title of Seraſkier on that coaſt. But I ſoon learnt, that this man, arrived at his poſt, was ſurrounded only by a few underſtrappers, more able to harraſs, than defend the country; and on my repreſenting to the Viſir the impropriety of truſting to a General without troops, "So much the worſe for him," replied he, very coolly, "he is employed to defend the coaſt, if the enemy lands, his head ſhall anſwer for it!" When any nation can reſt contented with ſuch a ſecurity, nothing, doubtleſs, can preſerve it from the horrors of war, but the negligence of its enemies; and it was to that circumſtance alone, that the Porte was indebted for the firſt ſucceſſes of Haſſan.

This Turk, whom I had left at the Dardanelles, where we have ſeen him make very light of the mechanical powers, had conceived the project of embarking with four thouſand volunteers,

in ſmall boats, and without any artillery, to raiſe the ſiege of Lemnos, and drive away the Ruſſian fleet. I had conſidered this as a mad expedition; nor could it, in fact, be juſtified, but on the preſumption that there was not a ſingle frigate on the look-out, to ſend all theſe adventurers to the bottom; that they would be able to effect their landing with ſuch ſecrecy, as that the troops employed in the ſiege ſhould receive no intelligence of it; that, ſurprized by Haſſan, they ſhould adopt no other meaſure than a ſhameful flight towards the harbour of St. Anthony; that purſued to the very ſhore, the protection of their ſquadron, far from encouraging them to make a ſtand, ſhould only inſpire them with a deſire of taking refuge on board; and, in ſhort, that after having compelled them to embark in the greateſt diſorder, Haſſan, and his companions, piſtol in hand, ſhould from the beach behold a ſquadron of ſeven ſhips of the line weigh anchor with precipitation. I had thought it my duty to oppoſe this project at Conſtantinople; but after diſcuſſing it with the Viſir, he coolly anſwered,

ſwered, " I conceive the folly of the plan propoſed by Haſſan; but, at all events, it will be four thouſand raſcals the fewer;—that is well worth a victory!" It was only in this point of view that the expedition was permitted to take place; and it was with ſuch inadequate means that the fortunate Haſſan executed, or rather ſaw the execution, of an impoſſibility.

I had availed myſelf of the ſecret methods by which I approached the Grand Signior, to make this Prince ſenſible of the neceſſity of providing the artillery of the Dardanelles with carriages of a better conſtruction, and with more ſkilful gunners. The Turkiſh army deſtroyed, or at leaſt, totally routed, at the affair of Craoul, had already made his Highneſs imagine, that the quick firing of the Ruſſian artillery was the principal cauſe of the diſcouragement of his troops. I was aſked, by his orders, whether I could form gunners to that ſort of exerciſe? (unknown 'till then amongſt the Turks *).

* Their artillery was ſo badly ſerved, that in a Journal of the Siege, ſent by the Turks, they announced with emphaſis, as ſomething extraordinary, 'that after paſſing the whole night in loading, they had made a devil of a fire in the morning!'

and on my anſwer, he ordered the Viſir and his Miniſters to confer with me, and to countenance every meaſure I might deem uſeful on the ſubject.

If, when Conſtantinople was in imminent danger, from the burning of the Ottoman fleet, the Turkiſh Miniſters ſaw me with pleaſure accept a commiſſion from the Grand Signior, that implied a degree of confidence of which they were not jealous, they did not with the ſame indifference behold that confidence extended to objects, from whoſe management they had been accuſtomed to gratify their own avidity, and that of their favourites. Sultan Muſtapha, however, was too abſolute, to ſuffer them to put the fanatical law, or rather abſurd cuſtom, in force againſt me, which forbids all true believers to avail themſelves of the ſervices of a Chriſtian. Beſides, the firſt difficulty had already been got over; and the Miniſters, who began to be jealous of me, contented themſelves with requiring that I ſhould remain *incognito*.——The Grand Signior's name, which they made uſe of to make me aſſume the dreſs of an interpreter, under the

the ſpecious pretext that the populace would be diſturbed at ſeeing an European employed in matters hitherto intruſted only to Muſſulmen, did not perſuade me, either that the Grand Signior had himſelf expreſſed that ridiculous apprehenſion, or that the populace, after ſeeing me command at the Dardanelles, would be uneaſy at my being employed in operations of much leſs apparent importance. For the preſent, however, I ſubmitted to the low jealouſy of the Miniſters. I knew their weak ſide; the Grand Signior was deſirous of employing me, and bent upon it; and his Miniſters dreaded both his warmth of diſpoſition, and the opinion he entertained of their incapacity. They were apprehenſive, alſo, leſt I ſhould avail myſelf of the aſcendance I had over him, to bring about ſome change in the Miniſtry. But if they were juſtified by their fears in their deſire of getting rid of me, they ought to have conſidered, that they might poſſibly exchange an eventual danger, for the more certain one of incurring the diſpleaſure of their maſter. Armed with this protection, therefore, which

which it was in my power, at any time, to turn againſt them, I went to the Porte, aſſuming, at the ſame time, the ſolemn air adapted to my new dreſs and character.—I liſtened coldly to the different ſubjects which the Grand Viſir was commiſſioned to diſcuſs with me. The ſchool for quick-firing was that which the Grand Signior wiſhed me immediately to begin; and I perceived very plainly, from the earneſtneſs with which the Viſir urged this matter, that the Grand Signior had not given him the power to controul me in the means I might think proper to make uſe of. Continuing at our ſecond conference, the next day, to affect an indifference and tardineſs to ſet about it, which were by no means habitual, the Viſir anxiouſly inquired if I was ill, or had any cauſe of diſcontent, which had diminiſhed my zeal? "Not at all;" ſaid I, "I only experience the natural effect of the dreſs you have put on me, which invites to indolence, and produces a ſort of apathy, that already begins to gain upon me; and if you perſiſt in making me wear it, I ſhall very ſoon be on a level with every thing;

thing around me." —" You think then," fays the Firſt Miniſter to me, laughing, " that our dreſs has an influence on our activity? That is very poſſible," continued he; " but, however that may be, as the Grand Signior knows your activity, and wiſhes to make uſe of it, and would not be pleaſed with us if he ſaw it diminiſhed, dreſs yourſelf as you think proper; aſk us for what you want, and haſten, as much as poſſible, I beſeech you, the preparations for the firſt proof of the quick firing, at which the Grand Signior intends to be preſent." The Porte ſent me, the next morning, an artillery officer, in full dreſs, with orders to attend me every where; to precede me, ſtaff in hand, and to look after the ſafety of my perſon, as well as to procure me free acceſs to the founderies, the arſenals, and ſuch other places as I might find it neceſſary to viſit.

I luckily found two ſmall four pounders, taken from the Ruſſians in the war preceding the treaty of Belgrade; but they wanted mounting, and the neceſſary implements. The neceſſity of forming workmen to this new ſort of labour,

bour, rendered this firſt attempt more diſagreeable and difficult on account of the plague, which carried off that year one hundred and fifty thouſand ſouls at Conſtantinople, and was ſtill raging with the greateſt violence. Compelled, perſonally, to direct the workmen, ſeveral of whom were attacked with this diſorder, I had no other preſervation than the ſalubrious air of the forges, to which I added the precaution of uſing only the end of my cane in giving directions; but what contributed ſtill more, perhaps, to preſerve me from this ſcourge, was my reſolution not to give way to the melancholy ideas it preſents.

The Jews, who invariably become maſters of that induſtry which is neglected or deſpiſed, are in poſſeſſion, at Conſtantinople, of all the works wherein hogs briſtles are employed, and were of great ſervice to me in the fabrication of rammers. I laboured ſo much in public, that none of my operations were unknown, but without being aware that any of them could give offence. I was informed that the Grand Signior propoſed to aſſiſt at the firſt leſſons I gave to a detachment

detachment of fifty Turkiſh gunners, who were to be my pupils. The Viſir, hearing that my little artillery was ready, ordered tents to be prepared at Kiathana, the ſituation of the ſchool, and I then underſtood, that inſtead of a viſit from the Grand Signior, I ſhould only receive one from his Miniſters. I attended early in the morning to receive this little court. The chief of the artillery had preceded me, and made them ſalute me on my arrival, ſtriving, no doubt, by this mark of politeneſs, which I took in good part, to conceal the little treachery he had prepared for me, and of which I had no idea.

From the order of march eſtabliſhed for the Miniſters of the Porte, all the inferior officers in the ſuite of the Grand Viſir, arrived before him, and I began to ſuſpect ſome affront, when I ſaw the Grand Treaſurer make his appearance the firſt. I advanced to meet him. "Where are the pieces you have prepared?" ſaid he, with an air of prepoſſeſſion—"There," I replied, "in the middle of that crowd which ſurrounds them." Upwards of ten thouſand people, in fact, had come from the city,

city, to see this method of firing the guns, so that it was with some difficulty we could get through the populace, who show no respect to persons, and only give way to violence. The first observation of the Grand Treasurer, opened my eyes to the trick they intended playing me. "What is that?" says he to me, pointing to a rammer, made in the form of a brush, to serve by way of spunge. I pretended not to perceive the drift of this question. "It is a rammer," replied I: —"Very well," said he, "but I ask you, What is that around it?"

Baron.

It is the spunge.

Treasurer.

That is not what I ask you. It seems as if you had forgot the Turkish language; but I must speak more plainly; what is the brush made of?

Baron.

It is possible I might not have understood you; but your eyes might inform you, that it is hair.

Treasurer.

That I see very clearly; but what sort of hair?

Baron.

Baron.

Oh! Since you are determined that I ſhould name it, they are hogs briſtles; the only hair proper for the purpoſe.

Treaſurer.

And that is preciſely what we cannot make uſe of.

Baron.

You muſt, however, reſolve to make uſe of it; and if the Mufti's fetfa be neceſſary for that purpoſe, I undertake to procure it.

Here the crowd which ſurrounded us, and had already murmured amongſt themſelves, broke out into the general cry of, *God preſerve us from it.* The Grand Treaſurer turned pale, and taking me by the arm, "For God's ſake," ſays he to me, with a trembling voice, "don't mention the name of the Mufti. Would you have us torn to pieces?" But I was ſo provoked at theſe abſurdities, that, regardleſs of his advice, I ſaid aloud, raiſing my voice, "What ſignifies this ridiculous clamour about hogs briſtles, when all your Moſques are full of them?" Theſe laſt words, which I had purpoſely let drop, completed the agitation.

tion of the people, and the terror of the Grand Treaſurer, who already thought he ſaw the place flowing with blood. I mounted immediately on a gun-carriage, from whence viewing the multitude, whoſe fanatic murmurs were redoubled, the word *ſilence*, which I pronounced ſo firmly as to aſtoniſh them, ſerved me inſtead of the right of commanding it. Profiting by the momentary calm I had produced, I cried out, "If there be a painter amongſt you, let him appear and decide this matter." A venerable old man, raiſing his voice, ſays, "I am a painter; what would you have?"—"I wiſh," replied I, "if you are a good Muſſulman, that you will tell the truth by anſwering the queſtions I am about to put to you." During this ſcene, the Grand Treaſurer, as much amazed as any body, recovering from his fright, and ſuſpecting that I wanted to make uſe of the painter to extricate us from our difficulty, made him approach, and ordered him to be accurate in his anſwers.

The Baron (to the Painter.)

Have you ever painted the inſide of a Moſque?

Painter.

Painter.

Several of the moſt conſiderable ones.

Baron.

What tools did you make uſe of?

Painter.

Of ſeveral colours.

Baron.

Remember you are a Muſſulman, and that you owe homage to the truth. Why do you equivocate? A colour is not a tool; it is only one of the means; you make uſe of bruſhes: Of what were your large ones made?

Painter.

They are of white hair—we buy them ready made—we do not make them.

Baron.

You know, however, what animal's hair it is; and that is what you muſt tell me.

The Treaſurer (to the Painter.)

Yes; you muſt tell the truth; it is of importance to know it.

The Painter (to the Treaſurer, raiſing his voice.)

In that caſe, your Excellency, I will tell it; all our painting bruſhes are of hogs briſtles.

The

The Baron (to the Painter.)

Very well; but this is not all: What becomes of the hair after you have done with your painting bruſhes? and, when the Moſque is finiſhed, what do you carry home with you?

Painter.

I'faith, I have never brought any thing back but the handles; the hair is left ſticking to the walls.

Baron.

You ſee, then, that as the hogs briſtles do not defile your Moſques, there can be no harm in making uſe of them againſt your enemies.

The cry of, *Praiſe to God!* was the unanimous anſwer of the people; and the Grand Treaſurer, tranſported with a joy the more lively, as it ſucceeded to fear, pulls off, in a moment, a magnificent pelice of Siberian marten, throws it on the ground, gets hold of one of the rammers, plays it about in the piece; "Come my friends," ſays he, "let us make uſe of this new invention for the ſafety and glory of all true believers.

The ridiculous termination of this ſcene was undoubtedly worthy of the ſubject.

ſubject. The Treaſurer was contented, and the people inchanted ; but this proof of their general folly would have determined me to abandon them there, had not even the difficulties themſelves been a ſort of ſpur to me, which it was impoſſible to reſiſt.

This tranſaction being related to the Viſir, and the other Miniſters on their arrival, diſpoſed them for the applauſes they beſtowed on the agility of the gunners, which did not make them exceed, however, five ſhot in a minute, in this firſt attempt. This was, doubtleſs, a great deal for the Turks; and one might have hopes that younger men than they had given me, would only require exerciſing for ſome time, to arrive at the deſired degree of perfection. Several Turks, even amongſt the ſpectators, offered to enter into the ſervice; but every body found fault with the crooked rammers, and imagined, that by ſimplifying that inſtrument, it might be rendered more commodious. This popular obſervation had reached the Viſir's tent before my arrival. My little troop had followed me there, and the Grand Treaſurer, always

ways the firſt to ſpeak, began by propoſing the ſtraight rammer as the eaſieſt. I combated this opinion, and pointed out the danger to which the gunners would be expoſed. "Good!" replied he, gaily;—"A few gunners more or leſs—What does that ſignify, provided the Grand Signior be well ſerved?" This obſervation appeared to me ſo indecent, and the occaſion of revenging myſelf on this Miniſter, and of ingratiating myſelf with the people, ſo favourable, that raiſing my voice ſo as to be heard by the gunners, who lined the door of the tent, I anſwered him, "That not being able to ſeparate the Grand Signior's intereſt from the preſervation of his ſubjects, I would never allow myſelf to treat them ſo wantonly; and that I would ſooner renounce the glory of ſerving him, than have to reproach myſelf with the ſmalleſt accident." This ſhort harangue, by exciting a ſudden murmur amongſt the gunners, and the people aſſembled in a crowd behind, extorted the applauſes of the Viſir; and when I went out to make them renew the exerciſe, the troop of gunners, ſtill inflamed with what they

had heard, preſſed around me, lifted me from the ground, returned thanks to God for my anſwer, and frequently repeated, with a very loud voice,—" A few Treaſurers, more or leſs—What does that ſignify, provided the Grand Signior be well ſerved?"

The ſecond part of the exerciſe was ſcarcely finiſhed, before the Grand Viſir deſired to ſpeak to me. " Your eſſay has ſucceeded ſo well," ſays he, " that we can no longer doubt of ſucceſs, when you have taken all the neceſſary meaſures, on which ſubject we ſhall deſire the Grand Signior's orders; but as it is cuſtomary for all the offices to be kept ſhut during our abſence from the Porte, and as our excurſions are a ſort of recreation we very ſeldom enjoy, and which we willingly prolong, I ſhould be glad if you would make the gunners fire at a mark; you will ſtay with us in the mean time, and we will converſe together, which will ſerve to amuſe us." A butt I had made them erect in the face of the Viſir's tent, had given him, undoubtedly, this idea. In vain did I object to him, that the pieces were too ſhort; that

that they would very ill anſwer the object propoſed; and that no ſhot would touch the butt, where there was, beſides, only one piquet.—"That's of no conſequence," ſays he; "they will make a noiſe, and that is all we want." The pieces were immediately drawn up before the Viſir's tent, from whence we amuſed ourſelves for ſome time with obſerving the ſhot, which, as I had foreſeen, went ſometimes to the right, and ſometimes to the left. During this buſineſs, which afforded ſufficient amuſement for the Miniſters of a great empire, the Treaſurer, always ready to diſtinguiſh himſelf, and who had never ceaſed to reproach the gunners with their want of ſkill, announced to us that he was going to try his. He riſes immediately, takes off his pelice, tucks up his cloaths, takes poſſeſſion of one of the pieces, and making one of his ſervants aſſiſt him, he employs his whole attention in pointing it well. Curious to examine it cloſer, and watching ſome opportunity of puniſhing him for the adventure of the morning, I roſe to get nearer to him, and made a ſign to the gunner to offer him the match, that I might

I might amuſe myſelf with his embarraſſment, in making uſe of it: his hand trembled ſo much, that he never could direct it to the powder.—"What, then, you come here to give us leſſons, and are afraid!" I ſeized his hand at the ſame time, and directed it to the priming; but he had pointed it ſo ill, that we could not obſerve the direction of the ball.—"You are as aukward as the reſt of them," ſays the Viſir to him, on our entering; "and I am very certain there is nobody but Tott who can give us leſſons." Then, addreſſing himſelf to me, "You ought," continued he, "to ſhow the Treaſurer how to hit the butt."—"I ſhall have no better ſucceſs," replied I; and whilſt he was inſiſting on the one hand, and I was objecting on the other, to an experiment, the reſult of which might induce them to imagine, that I knew no more of the matter than themſelves, the King of France's principal Interpreter, who had accompanied me to Kiathana, ſays to me, in French, "Why not make the trial? Perhaps you will touch it." The Viſir remarking, from his manner, that he was urging me to

ſatisfy them, redoubled his inſtances, and reduced me, at length, to the neceſſity of pointing one of the pieces. But I was ſo ſure of miſſing, that, except by placing it in the direction of the butt, I took no pains to hit the mark. Every body, however, admires my alertneſs; the gunner prepares his port-fire; all eyes are fixed on me; the piece is fired; and I really partook of the general aſtoniſhment on ſeeing the piquet cut which marked the centre of the butt. The cry of *Machalla!** reſounded from every quarter. The Interpreter applauded himſelf for his prophecy; and the Viſir, whom I tried to perſuade that it was only a chance ſhot, ſaid to me, with the ſignificant ſmile of a man who thinks he has penetrated ſome great myſtery, "Be it ſo: it is by chance; but this proof is ſufficient; we want no other; and have no doubt that chance will always befriend you." I made many fruitleſs efforts to remove ſo ridiculous a prejudice; but the whole of this day's tranſactions ſeemed deſtined to diſcloſe to me the ignorance

* Machalla—(what God has done!) an expreſſion of the higheſt admiration.

rance of the Turks. I obtained the double advantage, however, of having overcome the difficulties it wiſhed to oppoſe to innovations, and of having gained the good opinion of the multitude.

The Grand Signior, to whom his officers gave an account of this firſt eſſay, immediately gave orders to ſend able gunners, and every thing neceſſary for this new invention, to his army. The ſpirit of this order was unqueſtionable, but they contented themſelves with obeying its literal conſtruction. Several bales of Engliſh ſhalloons, purchaſed to make 20,000 cartouch-boxes, made very good ſummer dreſſes for thoſe who inſpected the buſineſs; fifty four-pounders, badly caſt, but with new rammers, were put on board without carriages, becauſe the order had not mentioned them. The fifty gunners had orders to accompany them to Varna, where they muſt neceſſarily leave their cannon buried in the ſand of the beach, for want of means to tranſport them; and this was the whole fruit of the punctuality of the Grand Signior's Miniſters. This Prince was not long in hearing of the ſmall ſucceſs of the

pains he had given himſelf; and the Viſir who commanded the army, having repreſented to his Highneſs the neceſſity of providing him with pontoons, and perſons verſed in the art of uſing them, (a method until then unknown amongſt the Turks) Sultan Muſtapha gave me that commiſſion: he ordered, alſo, that it ſhould be left entirely to me.

Convinced, from long experience, of the miſapplication of ſums intended for uſeful ſervices, the Prince inſiſted, above all, that the Treaſury ſhould only account with me for ſuch expences as ſhould be occaſioned by my work. "You may," ſays the Viſir to me, "take what money will be neceſſary for you; it ſhall be delivered you on your ſimple receipt:—and this mark of our Emperor's confidence ought to be the more flattering to you, as he places it in none of us." "I eſteem infinitely the motive of his confidence," replied I, "but I ſhall never allow myſelf to make uſe of it; and full of the zeal for every thing intereſting to the ſervice of his Highneſs, there is nothing I would refuſe, except the handling of his money." The Teſterdar, and the

the Reis Effendi, called to this conference I had with the Prime Miniſter on the ſubject of the making of pontoons, joined him in urging me to conduct the whole buſineſs, without reſtriction. But I perſiſted in aſking for an honeſt man, who alone ſhould be accountable for the money. An honeſt man!" replied the Viſir, with vivacity,—" Where ſhall we find him?—As for me, I know of none. —Do you know ſuch a man?" addreſſing himſelf to the Grand Treaſurer.—" No:" —anſwered he. The Viſir, turning at length to the Reis Effendi,—" And you —Can you name us an honeſt man?" " Leſs than any body;" ſaid he, laughing.—" I am acquainted with none but rogues." " You ſee, then," ſays the Prime Miniſter, " that you aſk for what is impoſſible.—See to what we are reduced!—There is one meaſure, however, to be adopted;—we can remedy the diſorder, by ſtriking off a few heads."—I was the more ſhocked at this ſolution of the difficulty, from knowing that theſe judges, ſo rigorous towards the crimes of others, were themſelves the real cauſe of

of them; and, unable to reſiſt my deſire of giving them a proof of it, by citing a recent example, "I know," replied I, "that your Highneſs is the depoſitory of the Sovereign authority; but from the very circumſtance of its emanation from God, you can only make uſe of it with juſtice."—"Do you think, then," ſays he, interrupting me, "that one loſes ſight of juſtice in puniſhing robbers?" "Yes, doubtleſs," replied I; "when they are authorized robberies, they are no longer puniſhable. What right have you, for example, to be ſevere againſt the depredations of the Inſpector of the frontiers, whom you ſent off laſt week, with a commiſſion to examine the ſtrong places, and ſee that they are properly furniſhed with proviſions? His appointment coſt him twenty purſes, his equipage and expences muſt have coſt him as much more; there is no ſalary attached to his place:—Is not this giving a tacit conſent to the hope which this man entertains of doubling what he has advanced? —Would it be juſt to call him to account for the abuſes reſulting from his ſitu-

ſituation ‡? Sultan Soliman," added I, "of glorious memory, when he eſtabliſhed Inſpectors over all the departments of adminiſtration, allotted them ſalaries proportioned to their employments; he had, of conſequence, the right of puniſhing them. To ſuppreſs reaſonable emoluments, is to authorize rapine which is their natural ſubſtitute.—Pay the Treaſurer what I aſk of you,—I will anſwer for his honeſty." During this harangue, my audience were looking at each other; and the Viſir, far from making any objections, ſaid to his colleagues, "I did not think he knew us ſo well!"—It was at length determined, that ſince I perſiſted in deſiring a perſon to have the management of the money, they would propoſe Chamlu-Huſſein Effendi to the Grand Signior for that place. "He ſhall have a ſalary; but," added the Viſir, laughing, "we do not adviſe you to anſwer for his integrity."

‡ It was on the report of an inſpection made on theſe principles, that during the negociation of Belgrade, the Porte aſſured M. de Villeneuve, that the fortreſs of Oczakow was perfectly well proviſioned; and it was taken a ſhort time after for want of the ſtores neceſſary for its defence.

The Grand Signior was too anxious to ſee me employed in the conſtruction of the pontoons, to make me wait for the nomination of a new Intendant; and Chamlu-Huſſein, who had been with the laſt Turkiſh Ambaſſador in France, ſoon convinced me, that the Viſir had not made choice of him to œconomize the expences incidental to my undertaking. I eſtabliſhed my work-houſes at the arſenal; and whilſt I was ſuperintending the making of the carcaſſes, the body of braziers employed to prepare the ſheets of copper, brought me every day ſuch ſamples, as evinced that they were badly executed from deſign, more than from want of ſkill. The ability of theſe workmen in handling copper is, in fact, ſo well known, that without entertaining a ſuſpicion of their real motives, I perſiſted in requiring better workmanſhip from them; until, at length, theſe unfortunate people, driven to deſpair, and not daring to explain themſelves in the preſence of the overſeer, took the reſolution of privately appealing to my humanity to relieve them from the threatened perſecution. The chief of that community,

community, deputed for the purpoſe, acknowledged to me, that the aukwardneſs of his comrades was only feigned. "You have already diſcovered," ſaid he, "a part of our ſecret; I am come to inſtruſt you with the whole affair.—The Porte is determined to make us liable to the price of *Miry* *. We are ruined, if you employ us; and we ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed, if you complain of us: —Our fate is in your hands!"—Theſe two alternatives were alike embarraſſing; but I made no ſcruple to relieve them from the diſagreeable reſult. Under pretence of the advantage of light pontoons, I informed the Porte the next day, that I would make them be ſheathed with leather. This was, undoubtedly, relieving the braziers at the expence of the tanners, but the cheapneſs of the expedient rendered it at leaſt leſs burthenſome.

A company of Janiſſaries, employed only for the fire-engines, and who lived

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* The Miry, or Exchequer of the Turks, inforces the barbarous, but uneconomical law of paying at ſo low a rate for all the public works, that the government, and the perſons employed, equally ſuffer.

in barracks, in the arſenal, furniſhed me great numbers of workmen, accuſtomed, by working at the leather pipes, to the art of ſewing and preparing the ſheathing of the pontoons. The Chief of this company had orders to aſſiſt me: this was a real windfall for him, which procured me his good-will, and animated his zeal. I was employed about the different objects which this work required, when the Grand Signior urged me to throw ſome pontoons over the river at Kiathana *, in order to try if that ſort of bridge,

* A paper-mill, formerly eſtabliſhed on this river, has given it this name, as well as to the meadow through which it runs. This little river, which falls into the ſea at the bottom of the harbour of Conſtantinople, and which is called alſo the Freſh Water, is particularly celebrated from the Palace built on it by Sultan Achmet, three quarters of a league from the capital. It is made uſe of by the Grand Signior, only, for his parties of pleaſure, or to aſſiſt at the exerciſe of the artillery, where the train is eſtabliſhed; but ſome caſcades, which decorated the Palace, are ſtill extant. On the ſides of the valley, too, are to be ſeen ſome ruins of the houſes built for the grandees. This clumſy imitation of Marly, the idea of which was given by the father of the laſt Turkiſh Ambaſſador, was deſtroyed by the rebels who dethroned Sultan Achmet.

bridge, which was the inceſſant object of ignorant calumny, really anſwered the purpoſe of tranſporting the artillery. I went to the arſenal every day; and one morning, in ſo ſlippery a froſt, that in ſpite of every precaution, I could not avoid a fall, which ſprained my left foot. I felt nothing, for the moment, but a great ſtiffneſs; and I was going on, leaning upon my ſervant, when after a few ſteps, the pain became ſo great, that I could ſcarcely reach the barracks of the Janiſſary fire-men, by one of the gates of their garden, which was luckily open.—The Colonel was not there, but the ſoldiers were very deſirous to offer me every aſſiſtance they thought I ſtood in need of. One offered me coffee, another a pipe, and another aſked if I choſe any thing to eat; but none of them had the ſmalleſt idea of what might be really of ſervice. Although I had nearly fainted away, I had recollection enough to perceive, that with ſuch doctors, I could not, without great danger, give way to my extreme pain. I collected, therefore, all the ſtrength I was maſter of, and made them take off my ſhoe and ſtocking, to

plunge

plunge my foot into cold water; and the Janiſſaries, who would never have dreamt of this remedy, having no other machine, brought the cooking kettle of the company *. This cold-bath was, doubtleſs, the only means of procuring me an eventual relief, but it increaſed my ſufferings for the time to ſuch a degree, that during the three-quarters of an hour I had to ſtay till a ſedan-chair was ſent for, I could only keep myſelf from fainting away by ſmelling at vinegar, and by making them throw water on my face. The Janiſſaries were aſtoniſhed that I ſhould prefer theſe remedies to the wine and coffee which they continually offered me.—This accident was known to too many to be long concealed, and I had ſcarcely reached my own houſe, before the Viſir ſent to expreſs the concern it gave him. Even the Grand Signior was

* The reſpect in which the pot of the company is held, can only be compared to that which we beſtow on our colours:—The troop is diſhonoured if it be left in the hands of the enemy. It is from this prejudice that the Colonel is called, Giver of Soup; the Major, Chief of the Kitchen; and that the Scullions and Water-carriers, are the Adjutants of the company.

was ſo good as to make inquiries after me; but that Prince was too active to allow me the reſt I ſtood in need of; he preſſed me to purſue my labours, and the advice he gave me to be carried, and to neglect no means of effecting my cure, only proved that he was impatient to ſee the pontoons.

The third day after my fall, I returned to my work-ſhops, and the bridge was ſoon thrown over the river Kiathana, oppoſite the kioſk of the Grand Signior. Sultan Muſtapha choſe to be a perſonal witneſs to the ſucceſs of the undertaking. He gave orders to the Arrabadgi-Bachi *, to ſend four pieces of cannon to the new bridge, and his Highneſs gave me notice to be there after the morning prayer, as well as Chamlu-Huſſein Effendi. We had juſt arrived, when a boat appeared with three pair of oars, ſuch

* The Chief of the Carriages:—This poſt was eſtabliſhed by Sultan Soliman, who founded an eſtabliſhment at the ſame time for the ſupport of four thouſand horſes, to draw the artillery; but the royal domains appropriated to that uſe, having been ſucceſſively granted away to favourites, the ſervice attached to theſe grants was ſoon forgotten; and the cannon was dragged to Kiathana by horſes taken from the mills.

ſuch as is daily uſed by the people, but ſo eaſily diſtinguiſhable, that our boatmen were not deceived in their conjectures. In fact, it was the Grand Signior, whom we ſaw land from it in the dreſs of an Oda-Bachi *. He was accompanied by two of his people, dreſſed like Janiſſaries, who went out of the way immediately on their arrival, whilſt Huſſein Bey, and myſelf, accompanied Sultan Muſtapha to the bridge, the ſtructure of which he examined with a great deal of attention. He made them paſs the artillery over ſeveral times, and neglected none of the particulars from which he might derive information reſpecting the manner of conveying and making uſe of theſe military bridges. The Prince, who had kept me a long time ſtanding upon my feet, perceiving that I ſuffered, ſpoke to me of my accident with concern; and my ſatellite, thinking to pay his court to his maſter, by ſaying a great deal of my activity, dwelt on the life of fatigue I led him, by which he only proved

* Chief of the Quarters:—This military charge anſwers to that of Captain; and amongſt the Turks, the different ranks and profeſſions are diſtinguiſhed by the form of the turban.

proved his own idleneſs. " You don't know, then," ſays the Grand Signior to him, " the reaſon of this difference between you?—I'll tell you what it is.——When Tott was born, he fell on his feet, and immediately ſet out a running; but you fell on your backſide, where you have remained!" If this apoſtrophe humbled the courtier, he was ſoon conſoled for it, by the order he received from his maſter on embarking, to diſtribute a bag of ſequins * amongſt my people. The quickneſs with which Sultan Muſtapha returned to his boat, made him overlook a ſtep in coming out of his kioſk, which would have expoſed him to a very dangerous fall, had we not immediately ſupported him. Whilſt the Prince, in going to his boat, was applauding the ſucceſs of the new bridge, and urging me to puſh forward the works neceſſary for the completion of pontoons for his army, I obſerved Huſſein wholly taken up in making a hole in the little bag

* The Sequin is a piece of a gold, of different values, but the ſequin moſt in uſe, is worth about ſeven livres, or five ſhillings and tenpence, Engliſh.

bag of ſequins he had in his pocket §, to mix them with his own; ſo that confounding his generoſity with that of the Prince, my colleague contented himſelf with beſtowing ten ſequins on each of my people, thinking he might very conſcientiouſly reſerve, at leaſt, two hundred for himſelf.

The Viſir, and the Miniſters of the Porte, were extremely jealous of the interview I had juſt had with their maſter; and under the ſpecious pretext of letting the people partake of a ſight as uſual, as it was new to Conſtantinople, but really with the ſole view of rotting the pontoons, they ordered that this bridge ſhould remain on the river until further orders. The care of the workmen who looked after it, prevented the bad effects of this low jealouſy; the people availed themſelves of it; the bridge was for forty days the principal object of curioſity; but the neceſſity of opening the navigation of the river, obliged the Miniſters to

§ The Turks have always their under habits croſſed, and faſtened by a girdle, which holds every thing they put under theſe lapelles, between the lining of which there are pockets for their watches, money, and other articles of value.

to wait for another opportunity to injure me.

I had ſettled it with the Grand Signior, that the fifty pontoons deſtined for the army, ſhould be accompanied by a ſufficient number of men acquainted with the uſe of them, and by a commander who ſhould learn to give the neceſſary directions; but this eſſential article was preciſely that which was neglected. All the neceſſary implements were ſent off, every thing was on the way to join the the army, and the chief of the pontooners repaired thither with his troop, without deigning to become acquainted either with me, or with the pontoons.

The expedition of theſe different articles, therefore, ſerved only to incumber the port of Varna; and the Grand Viſir very ſoon totally forgot what he had the moſt earneſtly ſolicited of the Porte.

The Ottoman army was remaining inactive about Babagdag, where it had been three years incamped. The proviſion for its ſupply, which the ignorance of their Generals could not eſtimate, and which it became at length neceſſary to calculate, from the multitude of volunteers

teers who had unexpectedly arrived, offering alternately the picture of abundance, or of famine,—profusion, or complaint,—increased the want of discipline to such a degree, as to brave that authority which wanted energy to enforce it. Despotism, the art of which consists not in preserving, but whose excellence lies in destruction, took this opportunity of conferring the office of Janissary-Aga on Abdir-Pacha, in order to place the civil administration of the whole army in the hands of a man who had the reputation of an executioner. And his first care, in fact, was to sink deep wells, and his daily occupation was to fill them with dead soldiers, whom he ordered to be strangled on the slightest pretences, and without any examination. Abdir-Pacha had not been three months in office, before the public reproached him with the death of more than thirty thousand men; and the government congratulated themselves in having discovered so efficacious an expedient to insure plenty and good order. The methods made use of by the Turks to surprize their enemies, are no less singular. The Grand Treasurer

ſurer has been ſeen commanding a detachment by night, lighted by the flame of reſinous wood, diſpoſed for that purpoſe in iron machines fixed on the end of long poles. Abdir-Pacha received the ſurname of *Maker of Wells*, and the Grand Treaſurer was thenceforward known only by the name of *The Blazer*.

Beſides the ignorance of the Turks, it is alſo a fact, that their army was deſtitute of a train of field pieces, which cannot be diſpenſed with even by the greateſt talents. The founderies, already eſtabliſhed, could not be employed. All the proceſs was carried on in furnaces of Uſine *, and the braſs, calcined by the action of the bellows, and then cooled at the bottom of the baſons, fell in a ſort of paſte into the moulds, the defects of which added another imputation to the pieces that came out of them. I propoſed ſetting up a reverberating furnace, and a machine for boring the pieces. The ſcheme of melting without bellows, of running the metal whole, and then boring, made the Turkiſh founders laugh. But the Grand Signior had given

* Furnaces uſed for caſting iron.

ven me his confidence: he ordered his Miniſters to confer with me on the ſubject, and they very ſoon took every means to ruin the undertaking. The firſt meaſure they made uſe of, was by rejecting my propoſal of inviting to Conſtantinople ſuch workmen as I ſtood in need of, the liſt of whom I preſented to the Viſir. "You propoſe to me ſuch extraordinary things," replied the Prime Miniſter, "that our moſt ſkilful artiſts look upon them as impoſſible. Begin, by proving to us that they will be ſucceſsful; make one piece only, ſuch as you talk of; it will then be time enough to ſend for the workmen you demand." So abſurd an anſwer would have juſtified me, no doubt, in abandoning the Turks to the conſequences of their own folly, and it really ſhocked me; but ſhutting my eyes to the boldneſs of the undertaking, we agreed that I ſhould go the next day, with one of the officers of the Porte, to make choice of the place for the eſtabliſhment of the new foundery. I had no ſooner taken this wiſe reſolution, however, than reflecting on the enormity of the labour, I ſet my brain to work by what

what means to accompliſh it. M. le Comte de St. Prieſt could not be ignorant of any of my proceedings; and that Ambaſſador had, beſides, a perſonal claim to my confidence, from the ſanction he gave to every thing I undertook in order to increaſe my reputation with the Porte, with a zeal to be found amongſt very few men in his ſituation. The project of forming an intire new train of artillery, appeared to him as arduous an undertaking as could poſſibly be attempted; and when I told him what had paſſed, and the Viſir's anſwer on refuſing the workmen, he was ſo full of indignation, that interrupting me, briſkly, "I hope," ſays he, "that you have ſent them a begging!"—"Not at all," replied I; "I have embraced their propoſal." The calmneſs of my anſwer, however, did not ſatisfy M. de St. Prieſt; his prudence calculated all the inconveniencies; his enlightened underſtanding foreſaw all the difficulties, which were exaggerated by his friendſhip; and I could only make him eaſy by anſwering for ſucceſs. But the truth is, that this was a circumſtance of which

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it was as neceſſary to convince myſelf. I had never ſeen a foundery, and my taſte for the arts, which had always made one of my amuſements, had never inclined me towards that with which nobody can be amuſed. The ſtudy I was obliged to make of it, therefore, became a very ſerious labour for me; and I did not go to the rendezvous with the Grand Treaſurer, who was named to accompany me in looking out for a ſpot of ground for the new foundery, until I had ſtudied well the poſition, and nature of the ſoil proper for ſuch an eſtabliſhment; but in vain did we examine every ſituation which ſeemed likely to ſuit me: there was always ſome objection; and I ſaw clearly that the jealouſy of the Miniſters was ſuch, as to enter into an alliance with the very waves of the ſea to fruſtrate my enterprize by placing me on its banks. It would undoubtedly have been more prudent to have taken advantage of this freſh obſtacle, to give up the undertaking altogether; but it requires no common difficulty to make one abandon a favourite, though an ill-judged project. I only obſerved, therefore, that it would coſt

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the Grand Signior more money, adding, rather peeviſhly, to let the Grand Treaſurer ſee that I ſaw through his intention "That if he would not huſband his maſter's treaſure, I would eſtabliſh the foundery in the middle of the harbour. The Chéir-Emini *, was ordered to pay the expences, and a Greek, who called himſelf an architect, was to collect the workmen, and ſee that they executed my orders. I had ſtudied the original plan, and found means to keep off the water; but was perpetually under the neceſſity of uniting practice with theory; of being at the ſame time architect, maſon, ſtone-cutter, blackſmith, and lockſmith. My plans were of no ſervice but to myſelf; no other perſon could make any thing of them; there was no analogy whatever, between the work I ordered, and that to which the workmen were accuſtomed; and to overcome the difficulty of bad habit, I have often been obliged to put the maſon to the forge, and give the trowel to the blackſmith. A Greek, however, ſkilled in the art of making

* The Intendant of the City.—His poſt is more ſtrictly analogous to that of ſuperintendant of the buildings.

making mills, displayed some understanding and neatness in the construction of the machine for boring. The Memoirs of St. Remy, and the Encyclopedia, were my daily guides, and answered my purpose until the moment when it became necessary to make the moulds; but there I was stopt short. The earth of the *Chartreux*, the only earth which is mentioned, without pointing out its composition, giving me no sort of information from which I might form something analogous, I had recourse to a mixture of clay, sand, and plaster, as a substitute. Every thing, in short, being prepared for putting the fire to the furnace, I filled it with 30,000 lb. of metal; and the matter having been in fusion thirteen hours, during which time I was obliged to support alone the fatigues of a labour which nobody could partake with me, I cast at day break twenty-five cannon, with a success which surprized and inchanted the Turks, made M. de St. Priest easy, and astonished me more than any body. I then made no scruple of confessing to the Ambassador, that this was the first time I had ever seen metal cast.

caſt. He trembled at the raſhneſs of the undertaking, which might, in fact, incur the imputation of folly; but it cannot be denied, that a ſort of obſtinacy of the will and docility in the execution, are two powers which the greateſt obſtacles are ſeldom able to reſiſt.

All the abſurdities and calumnies which ignorance and knavery had circulated to my diſadvantage, diſappeared. The poſſibility of melting, without bellows, was now demonſtrated; and the boring machine very ſoon left no doubt of the perfection of the new undertaking. The Porte no longer oppoſed the ſending for ſuch workmen as I wanted. The liſt I had preſented was agreed to; but the perſon at Marſeilles, to whom I applied, had made ſo bad a choice of the founder, that I was always obliged to ſuperintend the caſting, and at length to diſmiſs this man, as ſoon as my carpenter, whom I employed for every thing, was able to replace him.

Whilſt I was labouring at Conſtantinople, to furniſh the Turks with a better train of artillery, that of the Ruſſians, acting on the Danube, enſured the Grand

Viſir's countenance in my operations. A few bombs, fired *à ricochet*, having diſperſed the Ottoman cavalry, the Porte anxiouſly demanded ſome mortars for the ſame purpoſe, and ſome bombardiers who were able to ſerve them. The plain of Ocmeidon § was choſen for making the proofs, which I was deſired to prepare. Every thing being in readineſs, the Miniſters of the Porte, always anxious to be my judges, fixed on the next day; but the Grand Signior ſent them orders to attend to their affairs, telling them, he ſhould himſelf be preſent at Ocmeidon. This intelligence, which did not reach me till very late, obliged me to ſet out at day-break to arrive before the retinue which precedes the Grand Signior. I had taken care to prepare in the evening, every

§ Ocmeidon, or the Plain of Arrows, a part of which is ſtrewed with ſmall columns, covered with inſcriptions. Their diſtances point out the flight of the arrows, and the names of thoſe who ſhot them. Almoſt all the Turkiſh Emperors have had the vanity to pretend to this celebrity. Ocmeidon is alſo the place where the entertainments are uſually given on occaſion of the circumciſion of the Ottoman Princes. The Grand Signior has a very handſome kioſk there, and all the buildings neceſſary for the court.

every thing neceſſary for the experiments; and under this care was comprized the reſerve I had made of charging the bombs myſelf, to avoid all uneaſineſs on the ſcore of the accidents which might reſult from the leaſt negligence in that reſpect. The croud of people which were gathering, and increaſing every moment, gave me reaſon to applaud my foreſight; but the imprudence of the populace ſtill made me afraid of the dangers to which their ignorance was the more likely to expoſe them; for not being accuſtomed to ſee bombs fired in the air, the Turks could not be perſuaded that I had any occaſion for an open ſpace before the mortars, and I was obliged to wait the arrival of the Grand Signior before I could arrange the pieces. The Chéir-Emini §, who was given me for a colleague

§ Chéir-Emini, Intendant of the City, and more particularly of the Seraglio. He inſpects all the public buildings, and thoſe of the Grand Signior. He has alſo the privy purſe, and executes, by commiſſion, every thing reſpecting the extraordinary expences; but this office, as well as all the offices under the Turkiſh government, by partaking of ſo monſtrous an adminiſtration, cannot be compared to any employments in the European governments.

in this experiment, was walking far and wide with his white ſtaff in his hand †, when an officer of the Seraglio, riding full ſpeed, ordered him to place himſelf with me at the foot of the ſtairs where his Highneſs was to land, adding, that I muſt carry the white ſtaff, with which I was inſtantly provided. Sultan Muſtapha ſoon appeared: he ſaluted me graciouſly; and his ſon, Sultan Selim, who accompanied him, examined me from head to foot with the moſt minute attention. M. le Comte de St. Prieſt, curious to ſee this exhibition, had arrived on horſeback ſome time before the Grand Signior, and placed himſelf in one of the apartments adjoining the kioſk where his Highneſs and his ſon were ſeated. Muſtapha was inſtantly informed of this circumſtance; and I have ſince learnt, that it was the cauſe of a ſort of circumſpection which the Grand Signior aſſumed, for fear of diſpleaſing M. de St. Prieſt. Theſe little particulars will ceaſe to appear too minute, when we conſider that they develop the character of the nation of whom they are related.

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† This Staff is the mark of a Commander.

The Chéir-Emini and I, remained at the ſtations ſeverally aſſigned us, and were expecting the Grand Signior's orders, when the Selictar-Aga came from his Highneſs to inform me, that I might begin firing the bombs, *à ricochet*, when I thought proper; I repreſented to him that the croud which ſurrounded us, exceeding twenty thouſand ſouls of every age and ſex, ought to be removed from before the mortar, ſo as to leave it entirely open. Twenty Aſſequis, ‡, with uplifted ſtaves, immediately drove back the populace; but it was not ſo eaſy ſo to arrange them, as to leave a free opening for the bombs, the rebounds of which depend only on a greater or leſs horizontal direction. He made, at length, a hollow ſpace, about twenty toiſes large,

‡ Aſſequis—A ſort of choſen Boſtandgis, a detachment of which always accompanies the Grand Signior: they are armed with ſabres, and carry a white ſtaff, which indicates the command of the Grand Signior, which they are to execute. The Aſſequis, alſo, in troops, perform the duty of the Morechauſſée, in the neighbourhood of the Court. —They, as well as the Boſtandgis, are on horſeback, except when the Grand Signior goes out, when they precede him on foot.

but ſo deep, that it was to be feared, leſt the firſt rebound happening in its extent, ſome inequality of the ground might ſend the ſhell amongſt the ſpectators. In this caſe the people would indiſputably have thrown the blame on me, which would have ariſen ſolely from their ignorance; the firſt ſhell, however, touching the ground beyond the multitude, ſet me more at eaſe. Six bombs had been already fired off, there now remained only the ſeventh and laſt, which I had charged, as I have ſaid before, with the greateſt care: it is launched; alights in the middle of the hollow ſpace; remains there, and the match continues burning. This critical ſuſpence laſted twenty tedious ſeconds, during which time my anxiety ſaw nothing but the future victims of an accident as ſingular as it was unforeſeen. Not one of the aſſiſtants, however, ſtirs. This ſhell was gazed upon with as much curioſity as the preceding ones: luckily it did not burſt. I then took breath, and the examination I made on this bomb, convinced me that it had been loaded agreeable to rule. I never could diſcover the cauſe of ſo fortunate an exception.

tion. Nobody had time to perceive my uneaſineſs; and this event was applauded as a little trick by which I thought proper to determine the experiments. Every one even boaſted of not having been afraid; and ſome ſhells fired from an eleven inch mortar, pointed againſt a tent placed at the diſtance of ſix-hundred toiſes, by knocking down the butt, completed the ſatisfaction of the Grand Signior, and ſome Beyeux who had got together. His Highneſs had brought with him a pelice of ermine, with which he intended to cloath me; but, as I have already inſinuated, the preſence of M. le Comte de St. Prieſt, which he had not foreſeen, determined him to omit that diſtinction, from fear of diſpleaſing the King's Ambaſſador, for whom he had not prepared one. The moſt conciliating expedient they could hit on, was to ſend me to the Porte to receive this teſtimonial of the Grand Signior's ſatisfaction. One of the officers of his ſuite, ran to carry his orders there, and the Chéir-Emini was to conduct me. The people, however, who had applauded the proofs, and who were in expectation

tion alſo of ſeeing me rewarded, aſtoniſhed, at firſt, to ſee me taken to the Porte, ſoon began to believe that it was to puniſh me, and concluded by thinking it very juſt.

The Grand Viſir, apprized of my arrival, was waiting for me in the audience hall, where all the Miniſters were aſſembled. I there received their congratulations on the ſatisfaction of the Grand Signior. "His Highneſs," ſays the Prime Miniſter to me, "has ordered me to give you ſome public marks of it." He then made a ſign to the Maſter of the Ceremonies, to cloath me in a pelice of ermine; and the Haſnadar*, arriving at the ſame time, preſented me with a purſe of 200 ſequins. I turned round immediately towards the perſons who had accompanied me, and ſhowing my pelice, "I receive with gratitude," ſaid I, "this diſtinguiſhed mark of the Grand Signior's favour; return thanks to the Grand Viſir for this *money* which he makes you a preſent of." This expedient, which I preferred to a diſcuſſion of our reſpective cuſtoms, was a ſufficient leſſon for the Grand

* Treaſurer.

Grand Viſir, and ſaved me from offending their Oriental politeneſs †. It was at the cloſe of day when I quitted the Porte, and I did not arrive in the ſuburb of Pera until night. Two officers, one of the artillery, and the other of the navy, who were ordered to accompany and guard me, were going before me on the two oppoſite foot-ways. I was not more than thirty paces from my own houſe, when the navy officer I was following was ſtopped by ſome perſons in the dark, who, coming up to him roughly, demand what corps he is, and, on his anſwering, fire a brace of piſtols at him, who returns the fire: the officer of artil-

† This Turkiſh cuſtom of giving money, was what gave M. de Bonneval the greateſt mortification ſuch a man as he was could poſſibly receive. The Ambaſſador-Extraordinary of the Emperor, who, in the Auſtrian army, had been under the orders of the renegado, accepted, according to cuſtom, a dinner from the Viſir. The Porte had choſen Kiathana for the entertainment; M. de Bonneval had orders to be there with the corps of bombardiers, of which he was the chief.—The exerciſe over, the Grand Viſir called for him, and made him a preſent of a handful of ſequins, which his ſituation obliged him ſubmiſſively to accept.

lery fires alſo, crying out for help. Six Janiſſaries of the Palace of Germany, the gate of which was oppoſite to mine, came out immediately with their carbines, and without any other knowledge of the affair, than the flaſh of the fire given and received by my guard, make a general diſcharge at us. This certainly was not the kind of aſſiſtance we wanted; it was ſufficient, however, to put our enemies to flight, and the time neceſſary for the auxiliaries to load their pieces, fortunately gave me time to get into my houſe, without any of us being wounded.

Although I ſhould not have made any complaint of an attack which, in fact, was not perſonal to me, the officers of the police of Pera ſent immediately to aſſure me of their vigilance in puniſhing the offenders, if I would point them out. The Grand Viſir ſent alſo the next morning to inquire after me, and to get the particulars of the attack; and the Grand Signior was ſo good as to intereſt himſelf for me. But the government was ſoon obliged to occupy itſelf with more important cares, the object of which, will explain the danger I had been expoſed

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to, and its conſequences will develope the manners of the Turks, their *eſprit de corps*, and the feebleneſs of their government.

A violent animoſity had ſubſiſted for ſome time between the Janiſſaries of the company of the Laſſes, and the marine corps, which had taken riſe in one of the taverns of Galata, where a child of thirteen or fourteen years old, uſed to dance, to bring cuſtomers to the houſe.

After having alternately given pleaſure to both parties, this child became the object of their diſſentions; ſucceſſively carried off by one or other, the two corps at length went formally to war, and Galata was the theatre. Their inveteracy was carried to ſuch length, that one of the parties retiring into the principal Moſque, the other carried off ſome cannon from ſome merchant ſhips, which they fixed at the gate of the temple. The corner of every ſtreet became an ambuſcade; even the night did not interrupt the ſcattering fire, every diſcharge of which reached the Grand Signior's ear. All trade and communication were interrupted. The government, however, which had

had never dreamt of nipping the evil in the bud, which might even have perceived the fermentation in the attack on my conductors, but which uniformly believes that the beſt method of preſerving order, is by the deſtruction of the human ſpecies, at firſt adopted the meaſure of letting the combatants maſſacre each other, making a few ineffectual attempts to conciliation. This ſcandalous tumult laſted three days, and upwards of fifty perſons fell victims to ſuch unpardonable negligence. I happened to be at the Grand Viſir's when an account arrived of the increaſed acrimony of the contending parties. "So much bravery *at Galata*, and ſuch cowardice *on the Danube*," ſays the Viſir, "proves that the Turks are afraid of nothing *but the hats*. We ſhall never put an end to this affair," added he, laughing, "unleſs Tott, with a few Frenchmen, goes and brings them to reaſon." It was high time, however, ſeriouſly to think of it; for it was to be feared, that other companies of Janiſſaries, by taking the part of their comrades, might extend the tumult even within the walls of Conſtantinople. But this very circumſtance rendered

rendered vigorous measures difficult of execution. A measure of policy therefore was adopted, which was to get hold of the object of their quarrel; but the party in possession would not consent to give up the child, without a positive assurance that it should not be delivered to the opposite party. And the child, given up on that condition, was hanged, to the great satisfaction of those very persons who were fighting about it only an instant before.

During this sedition, I was treating with the Ministers of the Porte for the formation of a new corps of artillery.—Not that the Turks were in want of troops destined for that service, for upwards of forty thousand men, inlisted and the name of *Topchi**, formed a corps already too numerous, but which was, in fact, only a gnawing worm, whose support was no less burthensome than useless. Without any point of union, and devoid of discipline, these men, as well as the Janissaries, are dispersed throughout the capital, and the empire. A ticket called *essamé* ‡, with which every soldier is

* Gunners.

‡ Pay.

is provided, insures to him his pay, whether he presents it in person, or sends it by his agent. Very frequently, too, he sells this ticket; and, at all events, never thinks of joining his colours, but when he can do no better, and then only to partake of the dinner provided for such as choose to reside at the barracks. This abuse is very striking at the first sight of the barracks of the Janissaries:—They occupy the best chosen situations in Constantinople. Sultan Soliman, who built them, bestowed a profusion of gilding on the roofs of the porticos, which has always been supported by his successors. But the discipline he established, has not been so well maintained:—by abandoning the regulations, the spirit of the corps is annihilated, and the number in actual pay, (for the inrolled are innumerable) amounts to four hundred thousand; of whom scarcely twenty thousand are collected together. It must further be observed, that this small number is, in general composed of those who have low pay, and of those, who having none, serve in hopes of obtaining it. This pay, which is only distributed every three months,

months, is carried from three aſpres, up to ninety-nine*.—This arbitrary method of rewarding military ſervices, thrown entirely into the hands of their leaders, muſt neceſſarily operate to the deſtruction of this militia. Favour, too, which abuſes every thing, has aſſumed to itſelf a great number of ſituations with the higheſt pay, as well as the greateſt part of the alienated domains appropriated to military ſervice.—Theſe different objects, are in Turkey become the recompence beſtowed by the man in favour on his domeſtics, and the empire, whoſe wants were provided for by the legiſlature, ſtripped at this day of a principal part of its revenues, ſcarcely finds in the remaining fragments, a ſufficient ſupply for its moſt urgent exigencies.----And, in

* The aſpres, which might be eſtimated at ſix deniers, would give for 99 aſpres, 49 ſols and a half; (upwards of 2s.) but which, by the value of the coin, muſt be reduced to 39 ſols, 6 deniers; (about 19d. halfpenny) always obſerving, that this calculation, which is nearly the exchange eſtabliſhed by commerce, is ſtill far above what would be produced from examining the intrinſic value. The Grand Signior's ſilver money has ſcarcely ſix deniers pure.

in fact, if one except the produce of perfecutions, which the Grand Signior hides in his private treafury, under the vague, but not lefs tyrannical, title of confifcation, the revenues of the empire eftimated on the records at more than 500 millions of livres, about 25,400,000l. produces effectively only 74 millions, or 3,200,000l. to the public treafury. This fum, however, muft pay the troops, fupport the navy, and fupply the other current expences, and fervices unprovided for; whilft the 400 millions arifing from the royal domains, appropriated by Sultan Soliman to the fupport of a numerous cavalry, of 4000 draught horfes for the artillery, the reparation of the fortreffes, the repair of the highways, &c. only ferve to make the private fortunes of thofe who are in poffeffion of them, and the Grand Signior, in confequence, is obliged to employ the treafure he may have kept in referve, to provide for the immediate calls and deficiencies.

Sultan Muftapha began to exhauft his wealth, and had very poor confolation for the 600 millions he had already expended. He felt the neceffity of putting his

his troops on a different footing, and was desirous that I should make a code of regulations for the new corps of artillery; but the first step necessary was to provide from the public treasure, for the annual expence it would occasion. The Grand Treasurer could only make out a revenue of 300,000 livres, about 12,000l. sterling, by seizing a small duty which had been enjoyed by the clerks of his offices. The Porte next employed itself about the name which should be given to the new corps; the learned were consulted on the subject, and the name of Suratchis (diligent) was unanimously adopted. The Grand Signior approved of the ordinance I had drawn up, and consecrated it in the Hattu Humayonn *, which was issued from the throne for the creation of the new corps. The uniform was also agreed on; and as it was necessary to render it as light as the nature of the service required, without attempting a new style of dress, which ignorance would have turned into ridicule, and against which fanaticism would have lifted up her voice, I conciliated these difficulties

* A sovereign Edict, which has the force of law; the effect of which is for ever binding.

ficulties by adopting the form of the Albaneſe dreſs; and the corps of Suratchis, completed to ſix hundred ſoldiers, was lodged in barracks with the officers at Kiathana, where the ſchool was already eſtabliſhed, the exerciſe of which, although it ought to be confined to cannon, was extended to the uſe of the bayonet, becauſe ſo indiſpenſibly neceſſary, and which I was deſirous of accuſtoming the Turks to carry. One would imagine, too, that the Turks would at leaſt have ſpared their cenſures of this weapon by which they had been ſo completely beaten by the Ruſſians; but it was neceſſary, even on this head, to impoſe ſilence on their critics, and work upon their prejudices, by the interpoſition of the Mufti. That chief of the law, accompanied by the Viſir, and all the Miniſters, came to the ſchool; and apprized of this extraordinary viſit, I went to receive them, and the exerciſe being over, the chief of the law deſired me to range the corps in line of battle before the kioſk where he was placed. He then aſked me for one of the new muſquets, which I preſented him; and after entering with me

me into all the particulars of the uſe of the bayonet, he pronounced, with a loud voice, a prayer of benediction on that weapon, and that it might be applied to the defence of the true faith. The exclamation of *Praiſed be God*, then uttered by the whole corps, was repeated by the croud of people, attracted by curioſity; and the fanatics, always ready in the applauſe, whether of a benediction or a curſe, very ſoon talked of nothing but the wonderful advantages the empire would derive from the bayonet.

The corps of Janiſſaries were more intereſted in obſerving the exactneſs with which the money was diſtributed every week to the Suratchis, and the uniform they wore; and they loudly declared that they would receive, with pleaſure, the diſcipline, at the ſame price. This corps, in fact, formerly confined to the tributary children, and ſo formidable to its maſters, long ſince degraded by departing from its regulations, was at length ſo fallen into neglect, that at the time of forming the Suratchis, the Grand Signior owed the Janiſſaries nine quarters pay, making an arrear of twenty ſeven months.

months. Yet never did that corps give leſs uneaſineſs to the Sovereign; but this tranquillity, far from affording a proof, of its ſubmiſſion, was only a certain preſage of the ſucceſs of the enemy. Diſturbances in a deſpotic government, proclaim only the energy of the nation: When it is no longer able to make a ſtruggle againſt internal oppreſſion, what exertions can it oppoſe to foreign forces?

The ſeverity of their eſtabliſhed military puniſhments, furniſhed me with an opportunity of acquiring the love of the ſoldiers, without ſacrificing diſcipline; and I loſt no time in ſubſtituting, to chains and the baſtinado, other methods which, apparently leſs violent, would equally ſecure good order and ſubmiſſion, whilſt it eſtabliſhed the ſentiment of honour ſo inſeparable from military ideas, but which has no term to expreſs it in the Turkiſh language. Double turns of duty were the puniſhment of ſlight faults; the collar turned, and the facings flapped, without interrupting their ſervice, were puniſhments reſerved for more weighty offences: deſertion, which had never hitherto

therto been overlooked, was punished by the gallies; and, what was unheard of, in short, amongst the Turks, sentinels were placed, and some Tartars, formerly in the Russian service, inlisted into this new corps, set the example of regularity in the service. This troop, particularly trained in the management of light artillery, was daily exercised, and was soon able to fire fifteen times in a minute *; but I invariably refused their request to learn the use of small arms, because this corps was too weak to restrain the ralleries of other corps; and I must observe, that M. de Bonneval only failed in his project of forming one in Turkey, in the European manner ‡, from

* A slower fire, and more attention in taking aim, would, no doubt, have been preferable; but the Turks hitherto were afraid only of the noise, which they were desirous of making;—a juster estimate was beyond their knowledge.

‡ The Turks assured me, that M. de Bonneval, who had collected a Scutary, a corps of Albanese, after teaching them to face to the right and left for some time, could never obtain from them the promise of returning the next year for the same object; and that a Dervise seeing them wheeling round, turned

from his ignorance of the character of the nation he had adopted, which led him to begin where he ſhould have finiſhed: beſides that, the manual exerciſe, properly ſpeaking, was not an object of utility to the new troop, which, to do its duty, ought always to begin by piling up their arms.

Sultan Muſtapha came frequently to theſe exerciſes; was fond of ſeeing the quick fire, and always made a preſent to the gunners; but he never thought proper to give any orders but through me, and I availed myſelf of theſe opportunities to excite the activity of his Miniſters, by ſtimulating his. The Viſir's zeal, which ſhould have contented itſelf, with favouring my labours as much as poſſible, induced him to come and inſpect them. He arrives, in one of his excurſions at Kiathana, without apprizing

turned to ſome Janiſſaries who had got together from curioſity, and ſaid to them, "They are preparing to treat you in the ſame way as Peter the Great did for the Strelitzes." But it was not ſo much the murmur excited by this expreſſion, which made this phantom of diſcipline vaniſh, as the intereſt of thoſe who were to be diſciplined, and whom it was firſt neceſſary to pay.

ing me of it, and demands a repetition of the exercise they went through every morning. "We cannot, without order," says the commanding officer.—"Are not mine sufficient?" replied the Visir.—"We shall respect them, no doubt," says the officer, "in every thing which does not concern our discipline; but on that head we know no other superior than our Adgibektache *." The Visir, smiling at this answer, put up with it; and it was from himself I had the story.

It was some time since the Grand Signior had consulted me on the steps to be taken to put the channel of the Black Sea

* Adgibektache, a Santon Dervise, venerated by the Turks, and looked upon as the founder of the Janissaries, although he be, in fact, only their Legislature. He lived under the reign of Amorath the First, and when that Prince, by the advice of his Visirs, formed from the portion of slaves which fell to his share, a new body of soldiers (Yessi Tchery) he addressed himself to Adgibektache, to give him a code of regulations, and his benediction. It is told, that to sanctify his new corps, he addressed his prayers to God, after placing the sleeve of his white robe on the head of the Commander of the troops, and that the white felt still hanging to the cap of the Janissaries, is preserved only in commemoration of the white sleeve of Adgibektache.

Sea out of danger of an inſult. I had propoſed to build two caſtles towards its mouth, but I thought this project was abandoned, when I received intelligence of the works which the Porte was carrying on at the two light houſes of Europe and of Aſia.—They were intruſted to the care of two architects as little acquainted with lines of defence, as they were of the rules of Vitruvius; and accordingly at the mouth of the channel, and without the range of thirty-ſix pound ſhot, they preſently run up ſome ill built towers, and a few dry walls, to contain the artillery, which after a white-waſhing, enabled the Miniſters to announce them to the Grand Signior as a work of perfection. But Sultan Muſtapha, who had, doubtleſs, intended that I ſhould overlook the execution, aſtoniſhed to find in the account laid before him, that I had nothing to do with it, inquired the reaſon of it. His Miniſters, who were inceſſantly endeavouring to keep me out of the way, excuſed themſelves, by ſaying that the order did not expreſsly enjoin them to conſult me. But his Highneſs not chooſing to truſt to them, gave

gave them the mortification of ſubmitting their work to my inſpection. The Reis Effendi*, and the Grand Treaſurer, were employed to conduct me to the new built caſtles, to determine whether it would be better to preſerve, or to deſtroy them. The complaiſance with which the Grand Viſir gave me this invitation, proved to me that the Grand Signior had not been quite ſo gentle in the orders he had given his Miniſters.—But this circumſtance, truly alarming for them, was not leſs embarraſſing to me; for I muſt either betray the intereſts with which I was intruſted, or ſacrifice the innocent. In fact, I could not but foreſee, that by improving the works they had juſt conſtructed, they who had given orders for them, would throw the blame on the two architects; and that the latter, unable either to do better, or to decline the undertaking, could not, without extreme cruelty, be involved in the conſequences of this inquiry. We took theſe poor fellows with us, and their firſt care after our arrival, was to repreſent to me the riſque they run if I diſapproved of their work. But they were by no means contented

* Reis Effendi– Miniſter for foreign affairs.

with my bare aſſurances that their ignorance would ſave them. The two Miniſters urged me to give my opinion, and were already finding fault with the maſonry, and condemning the bad ſtate of the barracks in the midſt of the incloſure. "That is of the leaſt conſequence," anſwered I; "the moſt material affair is, that the ſhot ſhould croſs one another, the reſt is eaſily remedied." One of the architects immediately aſſured us that the balls would croſs.—"That is what you have nothing to do with," replied I: "You have built on the ſituations pointed out to you; if the diſtances are too great for the effectual range of ſhot, it will be unneceſſary to examine your principles of building. In that caſe, every thing muſt be deſtroyed, and the forts re-built on a better ſituation." The Greek began to perceive his folly in talking about artillery, and the gunners received orders to prepare the cannon. The Grand Treaſurer, who of all the Miniſters had more immediately taken part in this work, propoſed to me to go to the ſhore, to judge of the effects of the ſhot; adding that the maſter-gunner aſ-

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ſured him he had already ſeen them croſs. "I have ſo much reliance," ſaid I, "on his obſervations, that I will take ſpecial care not to repeat them from the ſame place; it is from the tower that we will go and make ours; from that height we ſhall be better able to judge of the matter." We mounted, in conſequence, on the battlements of a miſerable tower, wiſely deſigned to ſerve as a powder magazine. A flag being diſplayed, by way of ſignal, the experiment took place, and we ſaw very diſtinctly, that the ſhot fired from the two caſtles of Europe and of Aſia, ſcarcely reached a third of the diſtance that ſeparates them; and this experiment, repeated ſeveral times, proved invariably the ſame thing. It was no longer neceſſary to examine the conſtruction of the caſtles, after ſo clear a demonſtration of their inutility. The minutes of this affair were drawn up in ſuch a manner, as to relieve the two architects from all uneaſineſs. I dined with the two Miniſters, after which we re-imbarked on our return to Conſtantinople, intending to examine, on our way, the moſt favourable poſition for the two forts which were deemed neceſſary

for the defence of the Boſphorus, which we diſcovered very ſoon: the two firſt promontories we ſaw, placed at a proper diſtance, and ſo ſituated as to cover the anchoring ground, which is before them, ſeemed deſigned by nature for the purpoſe. This produced, of courſe, a great deal of converſation. The Miniſters were to give an account of their commiſſion; the conſequence of which was, with reſpect to me, that I did not hear another word upon the ſubject for more than ſix months.

The labours of the foundery, and the daily inſtruction of the new regiment of gunners, afforded me employment enough to divert me from every other idea.—I thought no more about the fortification of the channel; and imagined that even the Grand Signior himſelf had laid it aſide, when two meſſages, one from the Viſir, and the other from the Reis Effendi, arriving at the ſame moment, to urge my preſence at the Porte, made me ſuſpect ſome orders from the *interior* *, which would admit of no delay in

* This word, which is a literal tranſlation of the Turkiſh

in the execution; but I did not expect to find the Miniſters in ſuch an agitation. They were aſſembled at the Viſir's houſe, and were ſtill trembling under the reſentment of their maſter †. Sultan Muſtapha, who came frequently to confer with his Miniſters at the Porte, and make them give an account of their adminiſtration, had appeared there that very morning. Well informed, no doubt, that the building of the projected caſtles was not yet begun, he called his Miniſters together in haſte, and made them tremble at his outſet. "You are all traitors!"—ſaid he; "you have already ſhaken my throne;—you are labouring to overthrow it!"—Anger flaſhed from his eyes;—his Miniſters were ſtruck dumb.—Iſmael Bey ‡ alone, bolder ſtruck than the reſt, from being more certain of his maſter's favour, had the courage to intreat him to name the traitor.—

Turkiſh word, is appropriated by cuſtom to the palace of the Grand Signior, and ſeems, in fact, to correſpond with deſpotiſm better than any thing elſe.

† The Reis Effendi himſelf communicated the particulars of this ſcene to me.

‡ The name of the Reis Effendi.

tor.—" Yourſelf," replied the Sultan, " where are the caſtles which Tott ſhould have built ſix months ago? He fixed on the proper ſituations; have you hitherto enabled him to lay the firſt ſtone?" The Miniſters pleaded in their juſtification, that they had not received any orders for it. The Emperor inſiſted that he had given them; but he could only be calmed by the aſſurance, that the workmen ſhould be there the very next day. We agreed on the hour of meeting, there to give a few ſtrokes of the pick axe, a formality which the Miniſters made a point of, that they might be able conſcientiouſly to inform their maſter that the work was begun. There was another circumſtance more neceſſary for me, previous to the undertaking, and I employed myſelf in drawing plans adapted to the reſpective ſituations, whilſt the Viſir was conſulting the Aſtrologers, to find out the day and the hour the moſt auſpicious for laying the firſt ſtone. The time was at length fixed, and I was on the point of ſetting out for the ceremony *, when a Turk, followed by ſeveral

* This ridiculous ſcience which is kept in pay by fear,

veral Tchoadars, arrives and is announced as coming from the Grand Signior. The consequential carriage of this personage, and his silent gravity, were not calculated to satisfy one very soon respecting the object of his mission. His slowness in swallowing his cup of coffee, the constant prelude to all Turkish conversations, still further added to my impatience. At length he draws out from his bosom a small bag of red sattin, which he presents me with, on the part of his master, complimenting me at the same time on the mark of distinction it contained, and the prerogatives attached to it. In the mean time, I open the bag, from which I draw out a parcel of handkerchiefs embroidered with gold, in which were four pieces of ebony, which joined to one another by silver hinges, gave, when opened out, the standard of the Turkish *Pic**, used in

 building.

fear, and which foretells nothing with certainty but the ignorance of its votaries, is held in such reverence at Constantinople, that there exists a Munedgim-Bachi, Chief of the Soothsayers.

* Pic is the name of the Turkish ell; but they are of several sorts. Our shopkeeper's ell is the Turkish Pic and three quarters, as made use of in measuring

building. "You may now," continued the Turk, "diſpoſe of all the Workmen in Conſtantinople; and the Grand Signior's *Pic*, which is intruſted to you, extends your authority over them, even to the infliction of puniſhments. Such eminent advantages loſt much of their value in my hands; but I could not avoid teſtifying the high eſtimation in which I held this honour, by making a preſent to the bearer, and diſtributing a few ſequins to his attendants. Putting the ſtandard amongſt my other inſtruments, I ſet out for the ground fixed on for the new caſtles, where I found about forty overſeers of workmen already aſſembled; each of them was furniſhed with a double *Pic*. This badge of authority reminded me of that which I bore. I determined to employ the time previous to the aſtrological hour of the Miniſters in verifying the meaſures of the overſeers, in order to eſtabliſh that uniformity which was indiſpenſibly requiſite

meaſuring cloth. The Indoſé is another ſort of Pic to meaſure other ſtuffs, and the maſon's Pic, which is longer than the others, is equal to two feet, four inches, and three lines.

quiſite to accuracy. All theſe gentlemen got very familiarly round me, and their leader, who called himſelf an architect, and thought he was one, preſuming already on my tractability in following his advice, propoſed to me to verify all the meaſures by his own. "I muſt firſt begin with yours," ſaid I, taking my ſtandard out of the crimſon bag. At the ſight of this, the whole body of thoſe fellows ſtarted back ten paces from me, and I availed myſelf of the firſt ſurpriſe to eſtabliſh my authority, by a ſtriking, but not cruel act of ſeverity, ordering all the meaſures, not conformable to my ſtandard, to be broken to pieces;—not one of them, not even that of their Chief eſcaped this ſentence. I ordered new ones to be made on the ſpot, and the Miniſters on their arrival, found them taken up with this buſineſs. They repaired immediately to the place I had marked out for laying the firſt ſtone, which was prepared as well as the cement and the workmen. The Grand Treaſurer held in one hand the aſtrological deciſion, and his watch in the other. He obſerved the minute

with the moſt ſcrupulous devotion, and pronouncing the name of God at the laſt ſecond, he gave the ſignal which completed this ridiculous ceremony.

My firſt labour was to break ground, in order to level and extract materials from it for the building of the forts. This could only be done by means of gunpowder, from the quality of the rock, which conſiſted of a bed of porphyry. I collected together and put into huts in the vicinity of the works, about fifteen hundred Macedonians, who are the Auvergnats* of Turkey.

The artillery ſchool, the foundery, and the new forts, obliged me, from their diſtance from each other to travel ſix leagues every day. The Grand Signior ordered the Boſtandgy-Bachi to ſupply me with the boatmen of the Seraglio, who were to have extraordinary pay out of the public treaſury, and from that moment

* Auvergnats:—The inhabitants of Auvergne, remarkable for their induſtry, frugality, and application to the menial offices;—who are the porters, tinkers, chimney ſweepers of Paris:—the Scotch and Iriſh, in ſhort, of London; and who make excellent ſoldiers.

moment my boat was placed in the arſenal, by the Grand Signior's felucca.

The firſt labours at the new foundery were directed to the conſtruction of a train of field artillery, of which the Turks were totally deſtitute, and which were to be ſerved by the new corps. The Grand Viſir, in all his letters from the army, was conſtantly demanding them; and the Grand Signior ordered me immediately to prepare fifty four-pounders, with their carriages, to be accompanied by three hundred Suratchis diſciplined at the ſchool. The cart-wright work, further increaſed my labour, and the works at the caſtles were puſhed forward in the greateſt activity, to ſatisfy the impatience of the Grand Signior, to ſee the lower batteries compleated, and lined with artillery. The levelling of the rock furniſhed us with ſtones, but the maſſes of porphyry they contained, reſiſted the beſt ſharpened inſtruments, and rendered them very difficult to cut. The indefatigable exertions of the Macedonians, however, ſurmounted every difficulty.

Not-

Notwithſtanding the diſpatch required by the Grand Signior, I eſtabliſhed a day of reſt for the workmen, and permitted them to go every Sunday to divert themſelves at the neighbouring village. Thoſe who worked at the Caſtle of Europe, had the ſame licence to amuſe themſelves at Fanaraki *. Two and twenty Macedonians, each with his gun on his ſhoulder, had got there, and aſſembled in a tavern, were ſinging together the victories of Alexander. In the interim, a large ſaic, laden with ſtores for Varna, delayed by contrary winds, was come to anchor under ſhelter of a rock, in front of the village. Ninety Turkiſh ſoldiers, who were on board the ſaic, had juſt landed, when one of my workmen quitting his companions, to take the air, approaches the ſhore, where he finds the Turks, armed from head to foot. One of them, inſolent from the number of his company, comes up to the Macedonian, and gives him a violent box on the ear.

* A village ſituated in Europe, on the point of the cape which forms the mouth of the channel, and which takes its name from a lantern that is placed there.

ear. Being without arms to avenge the affront, and but little acquainted with the Turkiſh language, he makes a ſign to the champion to ſtay till he returns. He quits him directly, returns to the tavern, ſaying not a word to his companions, takes his muſquet, without their perceiving it, and goes back to the ſhore, where he ſtill finds the Turks; he ſingles out his adverſary, and pointing to his cheek, makes a ſign to him to repeat his blow. The Turk, who had his piſtol in his hand, fires at him, cloſe to his breaſt, and miſſes the Macedonian, who inſtantly gives him wadding and all in his belly, and periſhes himſelf by the diſcharge of more than eighty muſquets, fired at him by the other Turks. The noiſe, however, excites the attention of the remaining one and twenty Macedonians; one of their companions is miſſing;—they take up their arms, fly to the ſhore, ſee their comrade ſtretched out by the ſide of a Turk, and without further queſtions, attack their enemies, lay nine dead on the ſpot, and drive the reſt towards the ſea with ſuch precipitation, that partly by ſwimming, and partly in their boats, theſe

these fellows get to their vessel, cut the cable, and escape by putting to sea. This adventure was too serious for me, not immediately to take every necessary information. Two Macedonians, deputed to wait on me, gave me an account of the matter; and wishing to anticipate that which the Visir was likely to receive, I set out immediately to the Prime Minister's house, where I become plaintiff for the insult offered to the workmen at the castles.—The Visir, after listening to me, says coldly, "Very well;—let there be no more said about it." Not knowing that he was already acquainted with what had happened, I thought this by no means a satisfactory answer to my complaint, and I insisted on redress. The Minister, forced at length to explain himself, says to me, sharply, "What would you be at;—Are not nine Mahometans laid dead on the spot, a sufficient number of victims to atone for the death of one infidel?" I softened my tone on this, but represented to him, that it was absolutely necessary, by the most rigorous orders, to provide for the tranquillity of the workmen.—"That is well enough,"

enough," added he, laughing:—"Why with your fifteen hundred Macedonians, you would make a conqueſt of the country:—Your own means of ſecurity are better than any I could furniſh you with." I knew this as well as the Viſir; and as my only object was to obtain impunity for my people, I withdrew, ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of my negociation, and perfectly tranquil reſpecting the conſequences of the affair, notwithſtanding the threats of the company of Las Janiſſaries, which none of them had the courage to put in execution.

The Grand Signior had given me the uſe of a country houſe, hired at his expence, and ſituated on the banks of the ſea in the village of Tarapia, where I reſided in ſummer; and which was very conveniently ſituated between Conſtantinople and the caſtles, for the different works I was engaged in. I was informed, one day, on returning from the foundery, that a Turkiſh veſſel from the Black Sea, meeting with contrary winds, over againſt Tarapia, had juſt overſet at the entrance of the harbour. The weather was ſo fine, and the breeze ſo moderate,

derate, that I could not poſſibly conceive how this accident could happen. Curious to know the cauſe of it, I ſtep down to the ſhore, and the firſt object that ſtrikes me, is the keel of the veſſel above water. The captain, and five or ſix ſailors who compoſed the crew, having ſwam to land, were ſitting on the beach, viewing this melancholy ſight. They told me that a young girl and her mother, paſſengers on board the veſſel, had periſhed, without their being able to afford them the leaſt aſſiſtance. But theſe particulars did not explain to me the cauſe of ſo extraordinary an event. I was obliged to aſk many queſtions, before I could get from them, that the veſſel, laden with planks, half-maſt high, had ſailed from Syncope without any ballaſt. I ſhuddered at the danger theſe poor people had run, and which was, from the beginning, unavoidable, on the leaſt ſhift of wind; for they muſt inevitably have overſet at ſea, had not the wind been right abaft, until they they gained the channel, where a very light ſoutherly breeze, by obliging them to bear away, had done juſtice to their ignorance. Such a conduct was ſufficient

proof

proof that this was the firſt time the captain or his crew had been to ſea. I took pity on theſe unfortunate people, and offered to aſſiſt them in weighing up their veſſel; but my pity was increaſed on hearing that a Turk, who pretended to be expert in naval matters, had juſt got one hundred ſequins before hand from them, for that operation. I was led to think that this ſum, the ſole remains of their ſhipwreck, would eventually turn out a more real loſs to them, and I was not deceived in my opinion. The only aid they got from him, in fact, was by a few ropes brought in a boat from Conſtantinople, by a dozen Levertis *, who only hawled the veſſel nearer the coaſt, and placed it amongſt rocks, where it would be daſhed to pieces by the leaſt riſing of the ſea. Theſe officious ſeamen, however, demanding more money to continue their work, no ſooner met with a refuſal, than they diſappeared, and the ſhip-wrecked ſufferers were in the height of deſpair. I ſent orders immediately to the caſtles to bring me cap-

ſterns

* Seamen belonging to the Admiralty attached to the ſervice of the ſhips of war.

ſterns and other neceſſary apparatus, by means of which, in one afternoon's work, I put the veſſel in a condition to purſue her voyage to Conſtantinople. It was a truly intereſting ſcene to behold the joy of theſe poor creatures, and their earneſtneſs to collect the preſent they intended making me, which I refuſed, exacting a promiſe from them, however, never again to go to ſea without ballaſt. "Misfortunes are excellent counſellors," ſays the captain to me, "and I will certainly profit by the advice you have given me, that I may have it in my power to offer you an homage of my gratitude, more adequate to the ſervice you have done me." And ſome months after, in fact, I was informed that the ſame man, and the ſame crew, carrying ſome raiſins, butter, and other productions of the Black Sea, had likewiſe ſeveral ſheep with him, which they were bringing to me. I ſaw him enter, fully determined not to accept of any thing from him.—"See here," ſays he, on perceiving me, "the unfortunate man you ſaved;—God has bleſſed your good work:—we have made a fortunate voyage;—it is to you we owe

every

every thing we have, and we bring you the tribute of gratitude."—" I am very happy again to ſee you," replied I; " but I will not forfeit the merit of having ſerved you, by accepting of any recompence."—" You ought not to be afraid of that," ſaid he; " we have impoſed the annual tribute on ourſelves, that God may favour our commerce." I now refuſe, more ſtrongly than ever, to accept of any thing; but the Turk, more affected at my refuſal, than I could have imagined, ſays to me, turning pale, " It is certainly in your power to refuſe us; but depend upon it, that if you perſiſt in it, we will inſtantly place ourſelves, and our veſſel, in the ſame place, and the ſame ſituation, from which you extricated us." The tone of voice which accompanied this declaration, made ſuch an impreſſion on me, that, not daring to run the riſque of driving theſe poor creatures to deſpair, I accepted their preſent, but on condition that it ſhould be the laſt ‡.

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‡ This anecdote, which ſtrongly paints the ſentiment of gratitude, ought no more to ſerve as a cha-

The Grand Viſir had been long deſirous of ſeeing the new foundery, where I was buſily employed in preparing the new field train, which was inceſſantly demanded by the army, when the Prime Miniſter was announced. The activity which then prevailed in the ſeveral workſhops, enabled me to ſhow him all the details of the fabrication; and when we came to the forges, he ſat down upon an anvil. Whilſt we were in a very intereſting converſation on the moſt important ſubjects, one of the Viſir's Tchoadars interrupted me every moment to aſk me for a preſent.

Tired at length of his importunity, and ſtill more ſhocked at his maſter's ſuffering it, I thought to check him, by ſharply deſiring him to have patience, at leaſt till our converſation was finiſhed. "Ay," ſays he, "then he will go away, and I ſhall not have time to ſtay for you." This inſolent

characteriſtic of the Turkiſh nation, than it would be juſt, from a ſingle trait, to charge them with the character of ingratitude. It is from the general tint that men ſhould be judged: that is only to be obtained by combining the various colours which compoſe it; and it is only on forming the mixture, that we are able to diſtinguiſh the true ſhade.

inſolent anſwer, appeared ſo only to myſelf. I gave him two ſequins, and on his telling me, there were a great many of them, I gave him four; after which the Viſir who had ſaid nothing in the interim, reſumed his queſtions. He returned at length to his boat, after making his treaſurer diſtribute a hundred ſequins to the workmen, and particularly amongſt my ſervants. I conducted him to his boat: when he was ſeated, and his rowers had begun to put off, an artillery officer, who accompanied me every where, lays hold of the ſtern of the boat, ſtops it, and demands in his turn his preſent which he had not received. A marine officer, of my guard, lays in his claim alſo; the Prime Miniſter aſks his treaſurer, why thoſe two men have not received their ſhare of the money. They anſwer, that they were going on before; my officers inſiſt, however; and the Viſir, a glance from whoſe eye would have made the moſt intrepid tremble, has no other way of freeing himſelf from them, than by ordering four ſequins to be given to each of theſe importunate fellows. How could I complain of his attendant, when my own had no more reſpect for him? This

This Prime Miniſter, of whoſe character I have already given a ſketch, only preſerved his place by abandoning the reins of empire to the Reis Effendi, whoſe ſubtle and ſaturnine ſpirit governed the country with ſuch indifference, that chatting one day, and the converſation turning on the conqueſt of Conſtantinople by the Turks, and on the inſtability of the the moſt powerful empires, he aſked me, where I thought an unſucceſsful war might carry them?—"To the other ſide," ſaid I. He looks immediately out of the window, examines the coaſts of Aſia, and turning round with a laughing countenance,—"My friend," ſaid he, "there are delicious vallies; we will build beautiful kioſks there." It is eaſy to conclude from this anſwer, that Iſmael Bey, ſlightly affected by any calamities in which he did not participate, contented himſelf with getting rid of the current affairs of the moment, carefully took the Grand Signior's orders on every ſubject where there was any danger, and adhered more cloſely to his place than to his duty. To his connections with Iſed Bey, he owed his elevation, and he was ſtill

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ſupported by thoſe connections; Iſed, ſatisfied with the favour of his maſter, preſerved it without intrigues, enjoyed it without ambition, and had a ſtrong propenſity to doing good, without knowing how to effect it.

I was very intimate with this favourite, who was the medium between his maſter and myſelf, and uſed regularly to give him an account of our converſations, which afforded me the means of indirectly hinting many things, an opportunity I frequently made uſe of. It was thro' Iſed Bey alſo, that the Grand Signior conſulted me; and this Prince who was daily acquiring new information, and whoſe views began to extend beyond the uſual limits, treated with a great deal of attention the project for a junction of the the two ſeas by the Iſthmus of Suez. He was even deſirous of aiding what I already knew of the ſubject, by the local knowledge of the different Commiſſaries who had been in Egypt; and the reader will ſee in the fourth part of theſe Memoirs, that if Muſtapha had lived long enough to have undertaken that work, he would have found the local circumſtances

ſtances ſo favourable to his views, as to have enabled him to operate the greateſt poſſible revolution in the general ſyſtem of politics. He was undoubtedly very far from this degree of information, when giving way to the temptation of an an apparent benefit, he debaſed his coin. A man of the name of Tair-Aga, who poſſeſſed this Prince's favour, and held the place of Superintendant of the Mint, at the beginning of his reign, led him into this error, and I have reaſon to preſume, that having learnt better to appreciate his real intereſt, the return of peace would have been the epocha of a general new coinage; but the immediate pecuniary ſacrifice, required by this operation, could not be made during the war; ſpecie of ſome kind was neceſſary. The treaſury began to be exhauſted, the Mint was ſtriking money night and day, and ſilver reduced to the low ſtandard of ſeven penny weights pure, loſing its ductility, the firſt ſtrokes of the die cruſhed the coins, the ſteel of which was badly prepared and tempered. This inconvenience not only delayed, but even put a total ſtop to a coinage which admitted of

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no delay, and called for a ſpeedy remedy. I was deſired to point it out, and on the principle that, amongſt ignorant people, one muſt pretend to know what one knows nothing about. I undertook the buſineſs, ſet to work to ſtudy the principles of it, and ſoon ſucceeded in making the coin as ſolid as they deſired. Whilſt I was about all theſe operations, the workmen I was inſtructing, intereſted in the deſtruction of the coinage, and unable to attack the goodneſs of the work, tried to perplex me with reſpect to the means I took of perfecting the temper of the metal; pretending that I had only ſubſtituted urine for water, and which I made uſe of, to have the pleaſure of ſullying the name of the Grand Signior, by plunging it into ſo impure a mixture; and after having circulated this ridiculous ſuppoſition, they laid it before the Grand Signior in the form of a legal complaint. It was ſcarcely credible that ſuch an accuſation could produce any effect; yet ſuch is the force of prejudice, that the Grand Signior himſelf thought proper to have the matter explained; poſſibly he thought too,

that I ſhould eaſily be able to refute the charge. It was communicated to me from him, with a requeſt to give him my anſwer, which I readily found in the very text of my commentators. Admitting the facts, and acknowledging the ſanctity of the Emperor's name, I added, that however reſpectable that was, it did not become man to pay him greater honours than were allowed to God, whoſe name was daily written on a compoſition, wholly compoſed of rags picked out of the dirt. This anſwer ſatisfying the Grand Signior that he was not inſulted, threw the ridicule it merited upon the fooliſh calumny.

This Prince not content with borrowing uſeful notions, to produce a temporary correction of thoſe vices that infected every part of the adminiſtration, was deſirous of extending his knowledge, and of laying the foundation of ſcience by the eſtabliſhment of a mathematical ſchool, of which he requeſted me to take the direction. The corps of mathematicians, founded by Soliman, cried out againſt this innovation, which pre-ſuppoſed

poſed the ignorance of the Muhendis *, whoſe chief declared they were very well inſtructed.

His Highneſs accordingly determined that theſe geometricians ſhould undergo a previous examination by me, in preſence of two of the Miniſters, appointed commiſſioners for that purpoſe. We aſſembled on the day appointed, and if the learned men were not quite at their eaſe, I was myſelf in ſome anxiety. Indeed, my ſituation was embarraſſing: I wiſhed to conquer, yet I was afraid of humbling them. My vanity urged me on the one hand, and my delicacy reſtrained me on the other. The aſſembly was compoſed of the Reis Effendi, the Grand Treaſurer, the Cheir-Emini †, the Chief of the Geometricians, and of ſix learned men ſelected to defend the honour of the body. I was the bugbear of the meeting, which was opened by Iſmael Bey, in a diſcourſe wherein the intereſt of the ſtate was ſhown to be inſeparable from the will of the deſpot; and every head bowing acquieſcence, I was requeſted to begin my examination. I

* Geometricians.

† Overſeers of the buildings.

reflected a long time, resolving not to be hard upon them. I asked the Chief, What the three angles of a triangle were equal to? I was desired to repeat my question; and after a mutual consultation, the boldest of them answered me, with firmness, That is according to the triangle. I was confounded, and must confess that I stood in need of some such absurd answer, to reconcile me to the simplicity of the question I had put. It was unnecessary to push the examination any further; I contented myself with explaining my question, and with demonstrating this mathematical truth. The ignorance of these pretended Geometricians required no further demonstration; but I must do justice to their subsequent zeal for the Sciences: they all requested to be received into the new school, and we immediately set about its establishment.

I was one day at the Porte on some business respecting it, which the Visir desired me to conclude with the Mektoubtchi*, whom I found employed about some urgent dispatches, and was waiting

* Secretary of State.

ing his leiſure on a ſopha, when a Chek * of Mecca came and ſat down by me. He was one of thoſe fanatics, who, from being born in their Holy Land, think themſelves ſuperior beings; brave the temporal powers, proſtitute the name of God, affect to deſpiſe riches, and are moſt inſolent beggars. I had frequently ſeen this ſame man force the Viſir's gate, come and ſeat himſelf by him, and there remain until he received a piece of gold, the only method of getting rid of him. This was what he was now expecting, with an air of the moſt conſummate inſolence; but the Mektoubtchi, who was not diſpoſed to that condeſcenſion, entered, before him, into the various particulars of the new eſtabliſhment, and converſed with me, in his preſence, on the various objects relative to my other undertakings. The Chek, attentive to this diſcourſe, looked at me with aſtoniſhment, and ſeemed to find a difficulty in reconciling my dreſs with the authority I appeared to exerciſe. The

* A ſort of Arabian Princes, deſcended from Mahomet, who ſerve the Holy Moſque, aſſume a licenſe for every ſpecies of inſolence, and beg from the Grandees.

Mektoubtchi, however, ſent for by the Viſir, deſires me to ſtay till his return, and leaves me, with the Chek, and a Secretary, who was buſy writing in a corner of the apartment. The ſilence we all three obſerved for ſome time, was interrupted by the Emir, for the green turban of the Chek marked his conſanguinity with the Prophet. "Since you employ yourſelf," ſays he to me, "in ſerving the true faith, why don't you embrace it, and abjure the errors from which the moſt meritorious actions cannot abſolve you?" Scarcely had he finiſhed this ſhort apoſtolic harangue, before the Secretary, letting his pen drop from his hand, threatened him to go immediately and give an account of his inſolence to the Viſir, that he might be driven from the Porte. But, interrupting the Secretary, I deſired him to be calm, and let me reply to the Chek, who ſeemed already a little diſconcerted by this reprimand. "It is very natural," ſaid I, to this canting Muſſulman, "that you ſhould avail yourſelf of every opportunity of propagating your faith, and I thank you for ſuppoſing me worthy your attention;

tion; but I know a miſſion much more intereſting for your zeal; which is, the converſion of a multitude of *Greenheads*, who, like yourſelf, are kinſmen of the Prophet, and as indifferent about his laws. Go, and convert them, and when you have completed this arduous taſk, come to me, and I will then tell you what I ſhall do." The Secretary burſting out a laughing, the poor Chek was covered with confuſion; he went off, and the ſervants, who always liſten at the doors, in ſhewing him out, aſked him if he was going to convert the *Greenheads*. The Porte was ſoon informed of this ſarcaſm, and the unfortunate Chek no longer ventured to ſhow himſelf there. The Mektoubtchi, on his return, hearing of this ſcene, made many apologies, laughed heartily at the cataſtrophe, and expedited the neceſſary orders for the eſtabliſhment of the ſchool.

This inſtitution, peculiarly deſtined for the ſea-ſervice, was held at the Arſenal; but no perſon could be admitted but ſuch as could be of immediate ſervice; ſo that I had no tricks to fear from my ſcholars, who were many of them

captains of ſhips, with white beards, and all of them advanced in life. I dictated the leſſons every day in the Turkiſh language, each ſcholar wrote it out in his copy-book, and I choſe one of them to repeat it to the others the next day*. By this method of fixing the attention of my ſcholars, they made the moſt rapid progreſs; at the end of three months, they were able to make a practical application of the four problems of Plane Trigonometry; and this was the extent of the education I propoſed to give them.

Nothing was at that time wanting but field engineers, and ſeamen able to take the height of the ſun, make obſervations, and keep the ſhip's reckoning, which was enough, ſurely, for ſcholars of ſixty years of age. I had ſettled it with Sultan Muſtapha, that this theory ſhould be inculcated by practice, and that two armed frigates ſhould perform their evolutions, under his own obſervations, in the channel

* The method of making ſcholars become profeſſors for one another, might be very ſucceſsfully employed in all ſchools. Nothing is learnt well that one cannot demonſtrate; to add, therefore, the motive of vanity to application, is making ſure of inſtruction.

nel that separates Constantinople and Prince's Island *. It was necessary to construct the vessels on the best principles: I readily furnished the plans they desired of me, of which they only adopted, however, the ornaments of the sterns. The proportions by which I proposed to lower the decks, were rejected on account of the height of the turbans; and those also by which I would have added to the height of the masts, from no other reason, than that when the vessel lay on her side, it would be inconvenient for the crew. It was at the Arsenal,—it was to myself, that these difficulties were started; but I can neither doubt the truth of these absurdities, nor inforce belief. The vessel *La Ferme*, given by the Court of France to the Grand Signior, could not induce them to alter the mode of constructing the tiller of their helm; for the power of the despot, which can annihilate every thing, is not

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* This project, which could only be carried into execution after some months education, was laid aside after the death of Mustapha, whose activity alone could inspire energy into the minds of a set of Ministers, corrupted from the very nature of the government.

able to produce a reformation. We have already seen, that the institution of the new foundery had not destroyed the old one; the funds designed for the artillery were diverted to that object; and it was with great difficulty that the necessary sums could be procured for a work of acknowledged superior utility. —The corps of geometricians were in possession of Crown lands; the new school had no encouragement; and of all the new establishments, the corps of the Suratchis alone, which is founded in perpetuity, enjoyed a revenue assigned for its support; but I have already observed, that the revenue proceeded from the profit of a set of subaltern knaves in office, who, doubtless, had not sufficient credit to secure the fruits of their depredations.

The abuses existing in the administration of the navy, more powerfully sheltered, were very difficult of attack. The enormous expences, however, which appeared on the accounts for masting the ships, for want of a proper machine, which I had often spoken of, induced the government to desire me to give directions for constructing one. Its site was to be

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near the careening place, and the Superintendant of the Navy had orders to furniſh me with the neceſſary timber. I lodged my carpenter in a convenient hut, and I fixed on 120 feet for its height. The badneſs of the bottom obliging me to lay the foundation on piles, and as on this part of the work depended the ſolidity of the whole machine, I paid the utmoſt attention to it. The Admiral, however, found fault with me for tipping the piles with iron :—"That is," ſaid he, "throwing the Grand Signior's money into the ſea." He accuſed me, alſo, of making too many of them; but his Highneſs did not think proper to ſacrifice the ſolidity of a work, left entirely to my direction, for ſo trifling an article of œconomy.

The Porte was continually giving me hopes of granting ſome certain eſtabliſhment for the mathematical ſcholars, without which, it was not to be expected they would devote themſelves to that ſtudy; but nothing was done, and the young people began to be tired of working at their own expence, and without any proſpect. I obtained, however,

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by my repreſentations in that reſpect, through the channel of the Superintendant of the Mint, ſome gold medals, with the Grand Signior's cypher on one ſide, and on the reverſe, an inſcription relative to the ſchool. The Reis Effendi had orders to aſſiſt at the firſt examination, to diſtribute the medals to ſuch as I ſhould point out, with a permiſſion to wear them ſuſpended by a gold chain, and to add the moſt poſitive aſſurances of promotion.—Their aſſiduity was redoubled, and I very ſoon had a ſcholar fit to join the army, which, ſtill continuing at Bababdag, promiſed as inactive a campaign as the preceding ones. We were ſo accuſtomed, in fact, to this inactivity, that I never aſked the Miniſters any queſtions reſpecting military operations. One would imagine, alſo, that totally taken up, as I was, with my work at the arſenals and ſchools, I ſhould have been the laſt perſon to be interrogated with reſpect to what was paſſing at the army. The Viſir, however, aſked me very ſeriouſly one day, *If the Ottoman army was numerous.* "It is to you I ſhould addreſs myſelf for that information,"

mation," ſaid I, "were I curious to know."—"I am ignorant of it," anſwered he, "Then how ſhall I know any thing of the matter?"—By READING THE VIENNA GAZETTE, replied he. I was ſtruck dumb. Such repeated proofs of ignorance and abſurdity united, could not be balanced by the growing underſtanding of Muſtapha; and it was ſtill more unfortunate for the empire, that this Prince's health, which was very precarious, and preſerved by exerciſe alone, at length gave way, and he died, leaving the throne to his brother, the ſole remaining child of Achmet, and who, ſhut up ſince the death of his father, united to a very gentle character, naturally fond of eaſe, the neceſſity of enjoying it on the throne, after a life of forty years ſpent in fear and ſolitude. His firſt employment was to examine his own Palace, to which he was an utter ſtranger; to open all the coffers he ſaw; to diſtribute to thoſe who were with him, every thing the moſt valuable; and the ſudden revolution he experienced in the ſtate of his bodily power, threatened, for more than a year, to affect the moſt eſſential

eſſential concern of all the Oriental Princes who ſeem deſtined, by their own deſpotiſm, to no other object than the propagation of deſpots.

We have already ſeen the ceremony of a coronation, and the acceſſion of Abdul Hamid [Servant of God] was followed by nothing remarkable, except his firſt edict, in which, after the uſual commonplace expreſſions, he enjoins his Miniſters to protect the new eſtabliſhments of his predeceſſor. The ſame ſpirit that dictated this order, determined the Grand Signior the firſt time of his going out, to viſit the ſchool of artillery; and the Porte giving me notice to receive him at Kiathana, deſired me to amuſe him as I thought proper. The honours to be paid him were alſo left to my diſcretion. Anxious, therefore, to attract his attention to the agility of the Suratchis, I ordered a detachment of that corps to place itſelf, with only one piece, near to Kara-Agatche ‡, there to ſalute Sultan Abdul-Hamid with one and twenty guns as ſoon as

‡ A Palace of the Grand Signior, at the entrance of the river of Kiathana, at the bottom of the harbour.

as his boat appeared. This firſt trial had all the ſucceſs that could be deſired; and the Grand Signior, aſtoniſhed at the ſecond fire, made his rowers lie upon their oars †, until the ſalute was finiſhed. This ſerved me as a ſignal to arrange the regiment in battle-array, two hundred paces before the kioſk where his Highneſs was to be; and as the ſmall pieces belonging to the ſchool were very near it, I placed a Tartar ſentinel there, who had ſerved in the Ruſſian army, and whoſe European diſcipline I knew would prevent him from quitting his poſt. The heavy artillery which I had pointed towards the butt, ſaluted the Grand Signior, when he was ſeated, with one and twenty guns, loaded with ſhot, and as I remained very near his kioſk, to be ready to receive his orders, I remarked, that this Prince, paying very little attention to the ſkill of the antient gunners, was entirely taken up with the Suratchis, who ſtood immoveable with bayonets fixed by the ſide of the ſmall pieces.—

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† A ſea phraſe for ſuſpending the action of the oars; which is only practiſed on ſalutes, to expreſs a ſenſe of the honour conferred by it, and never by the Sovereign.

The ſalute over, he makes a ſign to his Selictar and ſpeaks to him; who immediately comes up to me, and requeſts of me, in the name of his maſter, the pardon of the criminal who was doing penance, adding, that the firſt appearance of the Sovereign, ſhould always announce his clemency. I then approached the Sultan, to aſſure him that this ſoldier, who was a ſentinel, ſo far from ſuffering puniſhment, was very fortunate in attracting for a moment, the attention and concern of his Emperor; but, it is enough, added I, that your Highneſs conceives him to be ſuffering for me to relieve him from his apparent reſtraint ‡," and turning to the Tartar, I ordered him to rejoin his colours. "No, let him remain," ſays the Grand Signior,—"to deſire the pardon of a man whom I thought guilty of ſome offence, is very different from diſpenſing with the rules you have eſtabliſhed; far from wiſhing to infringe them, I am come to apprehend, and to confirm them." A ſecond order replaces

‡ The Turks pretend that the word of the Grand Signior is infallible;—a deſpot cannot be deceived.—It is for ſlaves to acknowledge that he is always in the right.

replaces the ſentinel in the ſame immoveable attitude. The Grand Signior then ordered me to begin the exerciſe, and whilſt I was at a diſtance, ordering the regiment to march; his Highneſs keeping his eyes fixed on the Tartar, gave ſome ſequins to one of his pages to carry to that automaton. The page immediately goes up to him, and ſhewing him the money: "See there," ſays he, "what the ſhadow of God, the King of Kings, and the aſylum of the world, ſends thee; proſtrate thyſelf before him!" "Put the ſequins on the carriage of that gun," replied the ſentinel without ſtirring, "and go away." "How wretch," ſaid the page, "doeſt thou not tremble before the maſter of blood †? He beholds thee,—he hears thee;—proſtrate thyſelf," I ſay—"Do what I tell you, and be gone," ſays the Tartar, interrupting him.—The page returns, and relates the tranſaction to his maſter, who now convinced that I had deceived him, ſays to his Selictar: "I told you that this wretch was undergoing puniſhment; he dare not even receive the money; however do not let us ſay

† One of the Grand Signior's titles.

ſay a word about it." This prejudice had not time to take deep root, for the affair was ſcarcely finiſhed before the regiment, taking poſſeſſion of the battery, relieved the Tartar, who did not forget his money, and diſplayed ſuch agility in the exerciſe, that he once more attracted the attention of Abdul-Hamid. This Prince appeared to take ſo much pleaſure in the alertneſs of the gunners, that I was obliged to make them repeat their exerciſe ſeveral times the ſame day, and to ſatisfy him, as the laſt proof, I made them fire a hundred and twenty cartridges, one at a time, in leſs than eight minutes. Different manœvres of the artillery, and ſome bombs fired at the butt, completed the buſineſs of the day, in which the Sovereign appeared to prefer military occupations to thoſe amuſements to which from an impriſonment of forty years, he was more likely to give the preference. The reader, however, muſt already have underſtood, that by a very extraordinary effect, Abdul Hamid, on his coming to the throne, *had ſuddenly loſt the rights of the Harem.* The Turkiſh doctors, and the European

an phyſicians, who were conſulted on this ſingular event, after inveſtigating the cauſe of it, adviſed his Highneſs to diſpel by amuſements every thing that had the leaſt connection with it; thus to deſtroy the effect, by removing the cauſe of the diſorder. Frequent excurſions, muſic, and buffooneries, entirely occupied the Prince, whilſt his *favourites* were wiſhing for the termination of a war that ſwallowed up immenſe ſums, which they thought they could employ to better purpoſe, and his *Miniſters* ſaw with trembling, the moment approach, when the enemy would force them to receive the moſt humiliating conditions.

A ſimple boſtandgy, attached to Abdul-Hamid in his retirements, was become his favourite ſince his acceſſion to the throne. Accuſtomed to little inferior ſervices, low intrigue was his only talent, to which he added, ſince he got into favour, an inſolence he had till then never been able to diſplay. The Viſir Caïmakam was his firſt victim in whoſe place was ſubſtituted the celebrated Haſſan Pacha, ſurnamed Kouyoudgy, *(The Maker of Wells)* of whom I have frequently

quently ſpoken, and whoſe cruelty was unacquainted with any other methods of governing than thoſe of deſtruction. Iſed Bey, whoſe gentle and benevolent character I have already mentioned, was alſo removed from the Superintendance of the Mint, and appointed to the inferior office of Cheir-Emini. The firſt thing I did was to wait upon him, to teſtify my concern for this change; but my friendſhip was ſoon conſoled by the gratification of enjoying, with him, the pleaſures of his new ſituation: The poor and unfortunate had followed him, and beſet the gate of his new dwelling! an affecting circumſtance, which did too much honour to the diſplaced Miniſter, not to afford him ample recompence for his diſgrace. The new Viſir, however, who was ſelected for his ſeverity of character, was willing to merit that reputation by making the very court of his Palace ſerve for the firſt execution after his coming into office; and it was with difficulty he could be perſuaded that ſome circumſtances might poſſibly happen to thwart his arbitrary pleaſure.

The

The overſeer of the founderies under my direction, was afraid alſo of falling a victim to his cruelty. I ſaw him arrive one day, later than the uſual hour; terror was painted on his countenance; his ſervants could ſcarcely ſupport him. "What is the matter with you?" ſaid I.—— "What accident can have brought you into your preſent ſituation?"—"I am undone!" replied he; "the new Caïmakam has juſt aſſured me, that if the fifty pieces of cannon you are preparing, are not on the way to the army in two days, which you know is impoſſible, he will take off my head: It is not in your power to ſave me; and I pray God to avert even from yourſelf, a misfortune which would for ever diſgrace our empire." The Naſir's * ideas were ſo diſturbed, that it was impoſſible, for the preſent, to enter into any further diſcuſſion of the matter. I firſt tried to ſoothe him, and as ſoon as I ſaw him capable of liſtening to me, I aſked him, what anſwer he had given the Miniſter?—"I took care," replied he, "not to ſay one word to him, for it would have been the laſt

* Overſeer.

laſt word of my life."—" In that caſe," ſaid I, " all is well; make yourſelf eaſy, and follow exactly the directions I am about to give you: Go, this inſtant, and find him; humbly tell him, that you have been to deliver me his orders, which I received in ſuch a manner, as that you dare not repeat my anſwer to him; and that on your repeatedly urging me to carry them into execution, I anſwered you ſharply, that your buſineſs was only to pay the expences; and that with reſpect to all the reſt, it being the Miniſters duty to apply to me, I knew what anſwer I had to give him.—" There," added I, " is a ſimple method of extricating yourſelf from the affair; and I beg you will not be uneaſy on my account; I am glad of an opportunity of giving a little leſſon to your *Maker of Wells*." It was with ſome difficulty, however, that I prevailed on Seid-Effendi, to adopt any meaſure that would again bring him into the preſence of the *Cutter off of Heads*. Yet his very fears ought to have inſpired him with courage; and I at length perſuaded him. On his return he informed me, that this attack had produced the deſired effect

fect of diverting the anger of Muſtapha Pacha to me. The Overſeer, on being queſtioned reſpecting me, aſſured him, that I was as zealous for the intereſt of the Grand Signior, as untractable in every other point; and as I was, in fact, determined, vigorouſly to repulſe every improper proceeding, I found myſelf very ſoon engaged with the Caïmakam. He ſent one of the Mekters §, the next morning, to order me to come to the Porte; and this Tchoadar, concluding, no doubt, from the tone of his maſter, that he was not very favourably diſpoſed towards me, thought he might take upon him to anticipate his intentions, by accoſting me in a familiar manner,—taking me by the arm, in executing his commiſſion.—My firſt anſwer was a ſmart blow on his breaſt; and my firſt word, an order to turn him out of the Grand Signior's foundery, where he dared to come and in-

§ Mekters—This word, which literally means muſicians, is given to the Tchoadars, or footmen more particularly employed in the execution of external commiſſions. They are attached to the office of the Viſirate: and the perquiſites of this employment are ſo lucrative, as to make them ſought after.

inſult me. Already had the workmen, though Turks, run to turn the Viſir's meſſenger to the door, when terrified at ſuch a reception, proteſting his innocence, he politely deſired me to come to the Porte, where his maſter had ordered him to conduct me. "All I can do for you," ſaid I to him, "is to ſplit the difference with you:—I forgive you what is paſt;—go about your buſineſs,—and never ſet your foot here again.—But be ſure you acquaint your maſter with the manner in which I received you, that he may recommend more circumſpection, in future, to the perſons he may think proper to ſend to me." "I ſhall take good care," replied the Tchoadar, "not to ſay a word to him of that; he is not ſo tractable as his predeceſſors; and I earneſtly beg of you to come and ſpeak to him:—God knows what will become of me, if he ſees me return without you." "That is, however, what you muſt do," ſaid I; "I am not in a humour to go to the Porte to-day;—perhaps I may go to-morrow." The Mekter, after exhauſting his rhetoric, without being able to obtain a more ſatisfactory anſwer, withdrew.

drew. My Naſir, who was witneſs to the ſcene, aſked me, what I expected would be the conſequence of this conduct? "Your ſafety," I replied, "and my tranquillity;—Muſtapha-Pacha muſt be ſtunned to make him tractable: that is what I have undertaken, and I promiſe you, that I will render him as gentle to-morrow, as he ſhowed himſelf brutal to you yeſterday."

I went the next day to the Caïmakam's; but as our converſation was likely to be warm, I thought proper to take a third perſon with me, and I made choice of the Drogman of the Porte as my witneſs. I took the precaution likewiſe, that I might have an interpreter to begin the converſation, without being obliged to enter directly into it myſelf, until I ſaw the proper moment. Muſtapha-Pacha's outſet was, as I had foreſeen, brutal and imperious; and obſerving that I affected, whilſt he was ſpeaking, to look about me on every ſide but towards him, he aſked the Drogman if I did not underſtand Turkiſh. He replied in the affirmative.—"Why does he not anſwer me, then?" reſumed the Viſir. "Be-

cauſe," ſaid I, taking up the converſation, "I have never been accuſtomed to converſe, ſtanding, with your predeceſſors; order the Maſter of the Ceremonies to be called;—he will teach you the cuſtom you are unacquainted with.—To ſave trouble," added I, "I will teach you them myſelf." Then advance, ſeat myſelf by him, and I begin a vague, general converſation on his journey and arrival. In the interim, coffee and pipes are brought; and after ſufficiently repulſing his various attempts to talk to me about the artillery, by interrupting him every moment with queſtions relative to the Court, I at length conſented to liſten to every thing he had to ſay to me on the ſubject, which he did in tolerably meaſured language. Attributing the abſolute ſtile he had aſſumed, to the preſſing orders ſent him from Babadag *,—"I believe," ſaid I to him, "that you have got the Grand Viſir's letter properly explained to you §; but I muſt give you a piece

* A town near the Balkan, where the Ottoman army had lain incamped three years!

§ Muſtapha-Pacha, Caimakam, the ſo celebrated Haſſan-Pacha, could neither read nor write.

a piece of advice, no leſs neceſſary to your tranquillity and mine, than to the good of the ſervice. The Grand Signior has intruſted to you the preſervation of good order, and the care of furniſhing the capital with proviſions; he has intruſted me with the management of every thing reſpecting the artillery, and the different military details: Let us then reſpectively do our duty; you ought to provide me with every neceſſary in my department, and lay my demands and obſervations before your maſter, when I make uſe of the channel of your office for that purpoſe. It was thus that your predeceſſors, men well informed, always conducted themſelves towards me: and I further beg you, after their example, to grant ſome favour to Seid-Effendi. The poor Naſir is ſo eaſily intimidated, that his fear would do you no great honour. I could not help laughing," added I, "at the fright you gave him the day before yeſterday; he thought he was undone, but I gave him courage." During this whole harangue, the Caïmakam kept looking at me with aſtoniſhment: he complimented me on my facility in ſpeak-

ing the Turkiſh language; and as he imagined no doubt that no man could look at him without trembling, he exalted my courage, and gueſſed that I was a military man; after which I took leave of him: but ſcarcely had I got out of the apartment with my colleague, who was laughing in his ſleeve at the little leſſon I had juſt been giving the Caïmakam, before he was ſent for, to come back and ſpeak to him. "This Frenchman appears to be a bold fellow, but he talks a great deal." "I do not think, however, replied the Drogman, that your Excellency has heard any thing eſcape him that is miſplaced."——"True, ſaid Muſtapha, every thing he has ſaid is very clever, —but once more I tell you, he talks a great deal." After this ſhort dialogue, which the interpreter immediately related to me, I haſtened to comfort my Naſir, and make him laugh at his apprehenſions.

As ſoon as the train of artillery, and the detachment of the new corps were ſent off to the army, I was employed to caſt the pieces for the new forts; and the Grand Signior deſired me at the ſame time

time to ſuperintend the conſtruction of two ſmall pattern pieces, with which he intended to do homage at the tomb of the prophet. He had juſt appointed his favourite to the dignity of Surrè-Emini. His nomination to this office, the duty of which is to conduct the Pilgrims to Mecca, and is conſidered only as a lucrative employment, proved to the public at once the decline of his favour, and the imprudent rapaciouſneſs of the favourites. I waited upon him to deliver the offering I have mentioned, and I improved the opportunity to examine the different preſents, with which he was going to do homage at Mecca. He firſt made me remark the green and gold ſilk ſtuff, deſigned to cover the tomb, the tiſſue of which is remarkable from its thickneſs; but it is more ſo, that the Republic of Venice ſhould have contracted the cuſtom of making this preſent to the Porte, on every freſh embaſſy, for which purpoſe the Venetians keep a loom conſtantly going; a cuſtom perhaps reſembling too much a tribute §. From

 this

§ It cannot be denied, in fact, that the ſole difference between a tribute and a preſent, conſiſts in the

this I paſſed to other objects, more proper to amuſe children, than ſuited to the gravity of the occaſion for which they were deſigned.—They conſiſted of ſeveral pack ſaddles for camels, carrying little kioſks, within which were repreſented the uſeful arts, ſuch as plowing, harveſt work, mills, bakehouſes, &c.—Little flags enriched theſe different pictures, which were to lead the march of this holy caravan.

Whilſt the confidence of the favourite made him behold with pleaſure the moment of his departure, Umer Effendi, Grand Treaſurer, who had no occaſion to go and make his fortune at a diſtance, had hitherto known how to inſure the enjoyment of it, in ſpite of the enemies he had made himſelf by his aſſuming manner. Their intrigues had always been confined to his removal to ſome diſtant

the liberty of giving. To eſtabliſh the cuſtom of giving the ſame thing at ſtated periods, is in ſome degree to lay the foundation of a claim; this right acquires greater force when applied to people whoſe cuſtoms are their only laws. The ſtudy of manners will always furniſh the firſt elements of politics, and to eſtabliſh ſuch cuſtoms, when one can deny the ſervitude, is not to underſtand politics.

distant employment, which he had always been artful enough to avoid; but it was reserved to Kouyoudgi-Pacha to obviate every difficulty. Umer, at length, called into his presence, and proclaimed governor of a province, pleaded in vain his dignity of the feather, in bar to his acceptance of the sword; the Visir made him take off his head-dress, to assume the turban of his present promotion. The Treasurer for some time combated this violence, but he was soon obliged to submit to this strange manner of raising a man to dignity. It was not long, however, before the Visir himself became a victim to the want of prudence that regulated all his actions, and the complaints of the men of the law procured his overthrow, and exile into Asia; where, a short time after, Mustapha-Pacha was placed in his proper sphere, by the commission he received to visit the provinces, and scour them of those bands of robbers which had multiplied with the war.

His successor was that very Ised Bey, who, after falling from an elevated, to an inferior situation, was again raised to

the higheſt dignity, when he leaſt expected and deſired it. This was the more remarkable, as the poſt of Cheir-Emini, which he had held, had never, hitherto, been a ſtep to the Viſirate. The abſolute neceſſity there was of oppoſing firmneſs to violence, humanity to cruelty, mildneſs to brutality, and circumſpection to imprudence, was perhaps the only motive that influenced this choice. I went the third day after his inſtallation, to pay my compliments to the new Miniſter. He received me with the ſame air of friendſhip he had preſerved in his diſgrace. I was ſeated on the ſopha at the diſtance becoming the difference of ſituations; and as what I had to ſay, was not proper to be communicated to the croud who were ſtanding oppoſite to us, we mutually leaned to converſe in a low voice; this attitude becoming painful, he deſired me to approach him; but obſerving a ſort of reſtraint in me, which had not before ſtruck him, he ſays to me aloud, "What, then, my friend! you are afraid to come near me?" Then opening his pelice, and ſpreading it on the ſopha, "Get up," added

added he, " and ſeat yourſelf on theſe furs;—that is your place;—if you have forgot it, it is my duty to remember it." The multitude, who always obey the impulſe that is given them, cried out with enthuſiaſm, " Long live our new maſter!"

The negociations for peace, which had been long on the tapis, were only retarded by the perſonal fears of the Grand Viſir. The Porte preſſed him to conclude it; but although he had no doubt of the deſign of the Porte to terminate the war on any terms, he could not but be ſenſible that the blame of a diſgraceful peace recoiling only upon him, the forfeit of his life would follow the ſignature of the treaty. Stopped by this conſideration, he demanded powers from the Porte, which were refuſed him, under the pretext of their inutility; but, in fact, from the ſame motives that led him to demand them; and the Miniſters, who thought of nothing but their own ſafety, affected to treat the care he took of his, as a proof of puſillanimity. But his wife, at length, one of the ſiſters of the Grand Signior, put an end to

this diſcuſſion. This Sultana wrote to her huſband, that he might ſign every thing with impunity; and her huſband, who was very old, 'tis true, died after having ſigned the peace, and diſbanded the army.

Iſed-Pacha, who until then had only borne the title of Caïmakam, received with the ſeals, that of Grand Viſir; and the Turkiſh government once more concentered in the capital, ſoon returned to its ancient errors. The eſtabliſhments I had formed, however, were ſtill continued; but the founderies, the artillery ſchool, and the ſchool of mathematics, affording no farther ſcope for my activity than that of purſuing the ſame objects without the hopes of extending them, I reſolved to return to France; without informing the Porte, however, of my intention of abandoning them, which they were far from ſeeming to deſire, for I was even deſired to appoint Vekils for the different eſtabliſhments.

The Grand Signior, on my taking leave, cloathed me with a very elegant pelice of ſable; but I ſoon received a farewell with which I was much more affected.

affected. The veſſel which was to carry me to Smyrna, where I was to embark on board one of the King's frigates, had already weighed anchor, and ſet her ſails, when ſeveral boats came aboard us. I then ſaw myſelf ſurrounded by all my pupils, each of them with a book or an inſtrument in his hand:—"Before you quit us," ſaid they, with tenderneſs, "give us at leaſt a laſt leſſon: it will be more deeply engraven on our memories than all the reſt."—One opened his book to explain the ſquare of the hypothenuſe; another, with a long beard, ſet his quadrant to take the altitude; a third, aſked me queſtions on the quarter of reduction; and all of theſe accompanied me upwards of two leagues to ſea, where we ſeparated with a tenderneſs the more affecting, as the Turks are rarely ſuſceptible of it; and I was conſequently the leſs prepared for it.

END OF THE THIRD PART.

FOURTH PART.

AFTER making my obſervations on the character, the manners, and government of the Turks in the capital of their vaſt empire, I had ſtill to viſit the diſtant provinces, to examine the different people they contain, to trace out thoſe ſhades of deſpotiſm which are naturally produced by the diſtance of the deſpot.

The abuſes introduced into the different commercial eſtabliſhments of France in the Levant, ariſing more from the contrariety of the laws themſelves, than from neglect of the regulations, determined the government to order a general inſpection of them, and I was entruſted with this commiſſion.

The King's frigate L'Atalante, commanded by the Baron de Durfort, received orders to get ready, to conduct me in this tour; and M. le Comte, and Madame la Comteſſe de Teſſé; M. le Duc d'Ayen, and le Comte de Meun, who were firſt to be conveyed to Sicily by

by the ſame frigate, being arrived at Toulon, we ſet ſail the 2d of May, 1777. Off Cape Corſe we fell in with ſettled eaſterly winds, which determined M. de Durfort to put into Genoa, from whence, after a few days, he put to ſea, and landed the travellers at their place of deſtination.

From thence we ſailed to Malta, where I had a commiſſion to execute with the Grand Maſter; and we at length arrived at the Iſle of Candia, where I began my inſpection.

This iſland, the ancient Crete, which in ſome degree ſeparates the Archipelago from the Mediterranean, is formed by a long chain of mountains, running from Weſt to Eaſt, which may be conſidered as a continuation of that which forms the North of the Adriatic, traverſes the Morea, and joins Mount Lebanon in Coromania.

The iſland of Crete, celebrated by the poets of the moſt remote antiquity, ſtill preſents to the curious traveller its famous labyrinth. It lays claim, too, to the poſſeſſion of the true Mount Olympus,

pus, which is disputed with it by the two coasts of Europe and of Asia*.

The pious fictions, common to every age, have substituted for these ancient monuments of Paganism, the Grotto of St. Margaret, more worthy, certainly, of the veneration of the modern Greeks, and still more calculated to attract the attention of the natural philosopher §. The mountains on the south side are so near the sea, as to render this island almost inaccessible towards the Mediterranean, which gives all the advantages of culture, of which a bad soil is susceptible, to the north side of the island; and the inhabitants are indebted to the beauty of the climate alone for those rich productions, the exchange for corn, of

* There are two other mountains of the name of Olympus; the one in Asia-Minor, at the foot of which is situated the famous City of Prusa: the other in Europe, in the Gulph of the ancient Thessalonica. The latter, near which is a little valley, still called the Valley of Tempè, would seem to have the best ascertained pretensions; but it is impossible to decide from the appearance of these different mountains.

§ This grotto is very remarkable from the quality of its stalactites, and the variety it offers.

of which they are deſtitute. Oils are their principal article of commerce, and the making of ſoap, their chief branch of induſtry. That art is brought to ſo little perfection, that notwithſtanding the vicinity of the conſumer, we export from thence the greateſt quantity of theſe oils, for the ſoap-houſes at Marſeilles, and ſell part of them at Conſtantinople. The wild olive trees which I have found on the eaſtern, uninhabited part of the iſland, prove them to be natives, as well as the laurel roſe, which ſhades, and gives a colour to all the vallies, cauſing a vapour, which is ſaid to be fatal to ſuch as are ſurpriſed by ſleep. The country is covered with orange and lemon trees, the fruit of which is preferable to thoſe of Malta, and of Portugal. The *Muche Muche*, of the apricot kind, and of the ſize of the Mirabell plumb, but more delicious than the beſt fruits of the ſame kind, ſeems to be peculiar to the ſoil of Candia, which produces the moſt valuable plants.

This iſland, long held by the Venetians, conquered from that Republic by Sultan

Sultan Soliman, who ſucceſſively ſtripped her of her principal poſſeſſions, preſerves thoſe fortreſſes which were unable to defend it, and which ſtill, at this day, ſerve only as places of refuge for the oppreſſors, without being able to reſiſt the feebleſt foreign attack. It is in the defiles, and amongſt the barren mountains, therefore, that the inhabitants, to preſerve their plunder, contend, ſucceſsfully, for an independence never enjoyed by the cultivator.

The three towns of Candia, Canea, and Retimo, are the ſeat of government of the three Pachalicks, into which the Ottoman government has divided this iſland. The firſt commands the two others, under the title of Seraſkier, and all the three ſtrive who ſhall the moſt harraſs this unhappy country. The Turkiſh ſoldiery, with whom the Candiot Greeks are connected by frequent marriages, after the manner of *Kapin* ‡, have often put a ſtop to theſe extortions by revolting againſt the dignified extortioners; but theſe ſame Greeks almoſt always avail themſelves of their kindred with the Janiſſaries, to

‡ I have given an explanation of this ſort of marriage in the firſt part of theſe Memoirs.

to become in their turn ſubordinate, and more dangerous perſecutors of their neighbours, as they never fail to eſcape with impunity.

Whilſt this compoſition of oppreſſion and anarchy maintains diſorder on all the northern coaſt, a ſociety of robbers, inhabitants of the mountains, preſerves order amongſt its members,—defends itſelf againſt all oppreſſion, and covers the ſea with pirates. This ſort of Republic had for allies, the Maniots, their neighbours; they furniſh each other with mutual ſuccours; and the weakneſs of the Turks leaves humanity to groan under the depredation of this banditti.

The height of the mountains, which extend the length of Candia, the ſterility of ſome, and the nature of the vegetables which cover the others, are amongſt the leaſt ſtriking marks of the minerals they contain. Every object teſtifies alike, extinguiſhed volcanos; many of the mountains have their craters, and I found near Cape Solomon *, a ſmall

* This is ſituated at the eaſternmoſt point of the iſland, and forms, with Cape Sidera, the iſland of

a ſmall iſland of white marble, partly covered by a bed of lava.

After our departure from the Canea, the frigate anchored under this iſland, from whence we ſailed in the beginning of June for Alexandria. The winds which at that ſeaſon are trade winds, from weſt and north, without ever raiſing the ſea, enable the mariner to calculate the moment of his arrival in Egypt. In the courſe of this navigation I obſerved, that a vapour carried before us by the wind, which reſiſted the attraction of the ſun, and became thicker every day, did not form itſelf into watery clouds until we approached the coaſt of Egypt, which was announced to us by Pompey's Pillar, before we diſcovered the land. We ſoon perceived, however, the Tower of Pharos; and after

of Morenna, and five ſmaller iſlands, the anchorage of Paleo Caſtro; in Greek, Old Caſtle. During the war before the laſt, an Engliſh privateer, which had taken poſſeſſion of this ſtation, had placed centries, who gave ſignals when our veſſels appeared, to the ſouthward and northward, very much harraſſed our trade.

after doubling the Diamond §, the frigate anchored in the new harbour of Alexandria. I diſpatched the ſame day an expreſs to the Conſul at Cairo, to acquaint him with my arrival, and to demand from the government the neceſſary aſſiſtance to mount the Nile, up to the capital. The Vice-Conſul of Cairo, accompanied by four merchants, and an Aga of the Mamalukes, arrived the 10th of June, in the morning, at Roſetta, where they left the boats which brought them, and which were ſent by the Chek Elbelet, to convey me to Cairo. The miſunderſtanding which was juſt beginning to break out between the Beys †, and,

§ A rock ſo called, at half a cable's diſtance from the point of the land on which the Pharos is built, and which ſeparates the two harbours of Alexandria.

† The twenty-four provinces into which Egypt is divided, are governed by as many Beys, the chief of whom commands particularly at Cairo, with the title of Chek Elbelet, Prince of the Country; the whole four and twenty form the Divan, where a Pacha with three tails preſides in the name of the Grand Signior. The reader will find in the following detail, a picture of this tyrannical government, in its origin, become ſtill more monſtrous ſince, as it has become more feeble.

and, above all, the departure of Murad ‡, who with ſome troops, had juſt quitted the capital, under the pretence of reducing the Arabs of Charkia, but really with the intention of oppreſſing Egypt, rendered this precaution neceſſary for my ſafety. We ſet out for Roſetta on the evening of the 12th, to avoid the great heat, during our journey of twelve leagues. Our little caravan, mounted on mules, conſiſted of thirty perſons, and we ſtopped half way at Maadia. This reſting place for travellers, is built on a ſoil formerly cultivated, but long ſince abandoned to the overflowings of the ſea, to the barrenneſs occaſioned by theſe inundations, and the depredations of the Arabs. We left this place after a few hours repoſe, and diſcovered at break of day the tops of the palm-trees, and of the Minarets of Roſetta. After paſſing this place, and reaching the banks of the Nile, on which it is ſituated, we enjoyed the aſtoniſhing proſpect which the Delta preſents from the oppoſite ſhore.

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‡ One of the twenty-four governors, and he, who at that time, appeared to have the preponderance.

I embarked that evening in the felucca belonging to the Chek Elbelet, with the perſons who accompanied me. This veſſel, whoſe ſtern was covered with a great tilt, contained a bed-chamber, and a hall furniſhed with ſophas. Another boat, which attended us for the kitchen, and the ſervants, lay alongſide of us during meal-time; and by means of the winds, which repel the waters of the Nile, we mounted that river, under ſail to Cairo, where we arrived the third day, in the evening.

A Janiſſary in the train of the Conſul, who was ſtationed as a centinel, in a boat below Boulak ‡ made us diſembark at the place where our mules were to meet us, from whence we arrived after dark at the Conſul's.

Iſed Pacha, the Grand Signior's former favourite, of whom I have already ſpoken, was then Pacha of Cairo:—Apprized of my arrival, he ſent to pay me his compliments the next day, and the Chek Elbelet ſhowed me the ſame politeneſs,

‡ A town lying on the Nile, which ſerves as a landing-place for the capital, and may be looked upon as one of its ſuburbs.

politeneſs, with a requeſt to come to ſee him as ſoon as poſſible. I did not, at firſt, ſee into the motive of this earneſtneſs, but returned him for anſwer, "That aware as I was of his influence in Egypt, I ſtill thought it my duty to acknowledge, at leaſt in appearance, the Grand Signior's authority in the perſon of his Pacha." The Bey who commanded, gave orders to his Grand Equerry, and the officers of the police, to haſten the preparatives for my viſit to the Governor.

The Conſul had informed me on landing, that the Chek Elbelet, hearing of my approach, and preſuming that I would diſembark by daylight, had diſpoſed a great number of officers and Suratchis to prepare a public entry for me, ſo much the more diſtinguiſhed, as that notwithſtanding the right of being mounted on horſeback peculiarly appropriated to the Beys and the Grandees of the empire, ſeven horſes were prepared to mount the perſons who accompanied me. The care I took to arrive late, only delayed this ceremonial, which I was obliged to ſuffer, until my arrival

at

at the caſtle of Cairo, where the Pacha, who repreſents the perſon of his Sovereign, is uniformly kept a priſoner by the Beys. Such was the curioſity of the people, that notwithſtanding their fear of the two ranks of Suratchis, who preceded me, the people crouded to ſee the proceſſion; and the blows beſtowed wantonly on them by the ſoldiery, by way of amuſement, did not prevent them from waiting for my return at the gate of the caſtle. I there found the Pacha ſurrounded by all the pomp of the Viſirate, and he received me with the ſame ceremonies which are in uſe at Conſtantinople; but our former intimacy inducing us to wiſh for a *tête-à-tête*, he ſent away the croud which filled the hall of the Divan; and the confidence he repoſed in me reſpecting the fermentation then ſubſiſting amongſt the Beys, (a ſure preſage of a revolution) explained to me the anxiety of the Chek Elbelet to finiſh his ceremonial with me. He had not time, however, to receive me; for I had ſcarcely reached home in the ſame order of proceſſion, before the oppoſite party, breaking forth into

into violence, the reigning Beys thought only of getting poſſeſſion of the fortreſs. This manœuvre, more political than military, gives to thoſe who can ſucceed in it, the diſpoſal of the Grand Signior's orders, which they compel the Pacha to iſſue with their piſtols at his head. A firman accordingly, very ſoon appeared, ordering the revolters into baniſhment; whilſt they, deſpiſing theſe vain formalities, by firing at their enemies, compelled them, after a few days popping, which made more noiſe than it did execution, to fly into Upper Egypt.

Some Mamalukes of the victorious party, raiſed to the dignity of Beys, replaced the fugitives; and the government apparently reſtored to tranquillity, I went to Giſa to paſs ſome days there, and viſit the pyramids, which are only four leagues from it.

The ſoil of Egypt, its commerce, and government, and its ancient monuments, which muſt be conſidered as the moſt remote annals of the world, are objects reſpectively too intereſting to be confounded with the narrative of my voyage; and

I ſhall

I ſhall reſerve theſe particulars to place them in one diſtinct point of view.

The Arabs, who were to conduct us to the pyramids, made us ſet out at midnight, and we arrived at theſe enormous maſſes of ſtone at day-break. The firſt thing the perſons who accompanied me did, was to penetrate into them; but being myſelf leſs curious to viſit what is ſufficiently known by the plans given us by Mr. Maillet, and other travellers, who are all agreed, I availed myſelf of the little time I had to make my obſervations, in ſuch reſearches as appeared to me to have been hitherto neglected.

In approaching the Sphynx, which I ſhall ſpeak of in another place, the Arabs made me remark an opening, made by one of the Beys of Egypt, to clear it from the ſand under which it was buried to a certain depth, adding, that the impiety of ſuch a work as penetrating into the aſylum of the dead, ſoon met with its puniſhment, and that this Bey loſt his life in the laſt revolution. Theſe very Arabs, however, who pretend to be ſo ſcrupulous, made a daily traffic of the mummies, and were in very good

health; but this enterprise of the Bey would probably have hurt their trade, and every trader aspires at a monopoly.

On my return to Gisa, where I had already employed myself in making drawings of the Isle of Rhoda, of the Nilometer, and of Old Cairo, situated opposite, I accepted of the offer made me by a Coptic merchant, of his house, on the opposite shore, from whence I might take a drawing of Gisa and the Pyramids. Whilst I was thus employed, a group of horsemen pass full gallop under our windows, followed by other bodies of cavalry, pistol-shot are heard on every side; the tumult increases,—the master of the house barricadoes his door,—and we soon heard from the Janissary who accompanied us, that the flames of the revolution, which had lain hid for some days, had broke forth that morning by the assassination of three Beys, and that a fourth, to avoid the same fate, was flying with the remains of his party, to join his adherents in Upper Egypt, where the victorious party were much interested to prevent their junction. We saw at the same time a large armed felucca

ca take her ſtation in the middle of the Nile, and interrupt the navigation, to cut off the retreat of the fugitives into Lybia, ſo to eſcape the proſcription. Being hitherto a ſtranger to the cauſe of this quarrel, I finiſhed my drawing, and the tumult appearing to be calmed, I went on board, to return to Giſa, not thinking of any obſtacle; but ſcarcely had our boatmen given a few ſtrokes with their oars, when about twenty Mamalukes on horſeback arriving full ſpeed, preſent their pieces at us, and threaten to fire on us, unleſs we return inſtantly to ſhore, which accordingly we did. We were then informed that one of the Beys was at Old Cairo, for the purpoſe of ſtopping the paſſage of the Nile; I in vain objected that this order could not affect me, and as I could receive no other anſwer from theſe men than the end of the carbines, I ſent a merchant who was with me, to enter into a direct diſcuſſion of this matter with the Bey, who they told us was ſitting at the corner of a ſtreet at a ſmall diſtance from us. He appeared very much aſtoniſhed at hearing that I was at Cairo; and when he

knew that I was come there to draw, he very *ſenſibly* objected to the improper moment I had taken; but my ambaſſador replying with as much propriety at leaſt, that it was impoſſible for me to foreſee that they would think proper to cut each others throats that morning; he at length obtained, with ſome apologies for what had paſſed, the permiſſion to continue my journey. During this interval, one of the Prince's officers ſtole our pipes, and inſiſted alſo on embarking with us, under the pretence of guarding us againſt inſults, but really with the intention of extorting money for this pretended ſervice; on my arrival at Giſa, I immediately prepared for my return to Alexandria.

The Nile, which I had obſerved to ſwell, was got to the height, required for the opening of Trajan's canal. The public criers appointed to announce to the people the daily increaſe of the river, had juſt proclaimed the feaſt of the *Arrouſſée*, (the feaſt of the new bridge); but notwithſtanding the preparations for it, and the meaſures taken to purſue the fugitives, I obtained from the Chek El-

belet

belet the means of returning to Alexandria, and I re-imbarked on board the ſame boats which had brought me, to reſume a navigation become more agreeable, from the elevation of the water, which now permitted us to behold the moſt populous, as well as the richeſt country in the univerſe.

Eagerly deſirous of becoming acquainted with every particular of ſo intereſting an aſſemblage, I had carefully collected every thing which might throw a light on the government, population, manners, and commerce of the country, and their neceſſary connections with each other.—The gaiety of the people on the borders of the Nile, inſpired me with the deſire of going amongſt them; but the ſight of the Mamalukes alone, who wanted to go on ſhore with me, would have ſoon put them to flight, had I not taken the precaution of making them remain on board, and of being accompanied only by Europeans. I have frequently enjoyed the pleaſure of collecting the inhabitants of the villages on the banks of the river, and of confirming from them the accuracy of the ideas I

had entertained, a picture of which I am now going to present.

Egypt, situated in the eastern angle of Africa, extends from the Mediterranean to Abyssinia, comprehending in space, from the 31st to the 23d degree of latitude, from the town of Suenna, near the tropic, below the cataracts of the Nile.

This river, whose sources are not well known *, after receiving all the rivers with which Abyssinia, and Ethiopia are abundantly watered, descends into Egypt, which

* A traveller of the name of Bruce pretends, I am told, to have discovered them.—I saw at Cairo the servant he took with him; the guide who conducted him; the companion of his journey. I thoroughly ascertained the fact, that he had no knowledge whatever of this discovery; in answer to which it can only be said, that so learned a man as Mr. Bruce was not obliged to give an account of his observations to his valet. The pride of celebrity is lost in a desert; the distinction of master and servant disappear before the wants which surround them, mutually anxious, and compelled as they must be, to communicate together, and to afford each other mutual succours, the strongest alone must have the superiority over his companions; and the valet I am speaking of, born in the country, had incontestably the best right of warranting, even to Mr. Bruce himself, a discovery merely topographical.

which it traverſes from South to North, until within four leagues below Cairo, where, dividing itſelf into two branches, it forms the iſland ſo celebrated, and ſo well known by the name of the Delta. The plains on each ſide of the Nile, bounded by higher lands, are alone fit for cultivation as far as the point of this iſland, called by the Egyptians, in Arabic, *Batnel-Bacara*, (The Cow's Belly); the river not being able to convey any further thoſe treaſures with which its waters are known to cover the ſurface of the earth, by its inundations.

The mountains which run along the Nile, at four leagues diſtance, oppoſite Cairo, are only a bed of rocks of forty or fifty feet high, which borders the plains of Lybia. This eminence follows the courſe of the Nile at a greater or leſs diſtance, and appears to be ſolely deſigned by Nature, to reſtrain the general inundation. The ſide of Arabia, more hilly, belongs to the lands which border on the Red Sea, and already aſſumes the character of ſolidity, generally to be obſerved on the coaſts of the ſea. Below Cairo, on a level with the ſummit of the angle

of the Delta, the bed of rocks of Lybia, and the hills of Arabia, form an opening, and ſeparate towards the Eaſt and Weſt, parallel with the Mediterranean. This great extent of country, ſtretching from the kingdom of Barca, as far as Gaza, is overflowed, or liable to be overflowed, by this river. This periodical inundation, in a country where it ſeldom or never rains, and which, from the burning heat of the ſun, and the nature of the ſoil itſelf, ſeems deſtined to an eternal ſterility and dryneſs, is, without doubt, one of the moſt ſurpriſing phenomena of nature. By obſerving the mechaniſm by which it is produced, one may perceive that even Europe contributes to it, by pouring down on Abyſſinia and Ethiopia, thoſe exhalations with which our climates abound. The trade winds, which blow regularly from weſt and north, in the months of June, July, and Auguſt, continually preſs forward the thick clouds, which without depriving Egypt of the ſun, convey thoſe vapours into Abyſſinia and Ethiopia, and are there rarefied, and enter by a hundred different channels into the Nile, which diffuſes them, with

with the limy mud, collected by the waters, in their courſe, throughout Egypt. It is remarked that this water became muddy from the crumbling of the clayey ſoil through which it paſſes, appears in drinking it, as light and free from dirt, as the cleaneſt ſpring water: the Egyptians believe that of the Nile to be of a flouriſhing quality, and ſay, that they who have once drank out of their river, can never quit its banks.

The worſhip beſtowed by the ancient Egyptians, on the Nile, juſtified by the benefits they enjoyed from it, is in ſome meaſure preſerved by the Mahometans; they give this river the title of *very holy*, and honour its ſwelling with all the ceremonies conſecrated to it by Heathen antiquity.

This ſwelling is obſerved at the Nilometer, ſituated on the ſouthern point of the iſle of Rhoda, oppoſite to Old Cairo. Public criers, diſperſed through every quarter of the capital, announce daily to the people the increaſe of the Nile, until it reaches the proper height for opening the canal which conveys its waters into the middle of the town, and from

thence into ciſterns. This moment is determined by a certain ſtandard, which cannot be verified with preciſion on account of the ſuperſtition, which will not permit the eye of the curious to approach the graduated pillar, placed in the centre of the baſon of the Nilometer. The cry of *Ouf Allah*, God has kept his promiſe, proclaims the opening of the canal. Children, carrying flags of different colours, accompany the crier, and ſpread a general joy, ariſing from the certainty of abundance.

Sultan Selim, after conquering Egypt, gave laws to it, eſtabliſhed a new form of government, and determined that this kingdom, now a province of his vaſt empire, ſhould pay no tribute, except in thoſe years when the Nile ſhould be ſufficiently ſwelled for the opening of this canal. It is only then, in fact, that the overflowing is ſufficient for the neceſſary culture; and this happens every year: but this increaſe is not that which produces the greateſt plenty. For this effect the waters muſt reach the foot of the mountains; it is then only that the cry is —*Minel-dgebel, il-el-edgbel*, (from one mountain

mountain to the other.) It was, doubtleſs, from the precaution of the ancient ſovereigns of Egypt to guard againſt the conſequences of a too partial inundation, ariſing from the dryneſs of ſome ſeaſons, that they cut that infinite number of canals, of which the principal ones are ſtill kept in repair; but the greateſt number of them have been abandoned, and, conſequently, more than one half of Egypt left without cultivation. The canals, the moſt attended to by the government, are thoſe which convey the water to Cairo, into the province of Fayoume, and to Alexandria. An officer, placed as a guard to this laſt, takes care to prevent the Arabs of Bactria, who enjoy the ſurplus of the waters of this canal, from turning it off before Alexandria is ſupplied *, or from opening it before the ſtated time, which would prevent the ſwelling of the Nile. That which conveys the water into Fayoume, is alſo looked after, and muſt not be opened

* This event actually happened in 1784, when the water was turned off by one of the Beys to diſtreſs his adverſaries, by which Alexandria was on the point of being totally deſerted.

opened before that of Cairo, which is called the canal of Trajan.

The ancient Egyptians had the barbarous cuſtom of ſacrificing a young girl to the Nile, when it ſwelled to the proper height for opening the canal; which ſacrifice they called the *Arrouſſee*, the new bride. This name, and the ceremonies of this bloody feaſt are ſtill preſerved, but humanized by the Caliph Omar, who ſubſtituted for the victim, a column of earth, in the form of a woman, which is thrown into the Nile. The grandees of Cairo appear at this ceremony in gondolas richly decorated, which is alſo followed by entertainments and fireworks.

A number of other canals, taken care of only by the inhabitants who enjoy the benefit of them, are connected with the arm of the Nile which goes to Damietta, and fertilize Charkia. This province, ſituated in the iſthmus of Suez, is the moſt conſiderable one of Egypt, as well as the moſt ſuſceptible of a highly improved cultivation. The plains of Gaza, which are beyond this province, and are occupied by the Arabs, would be as fertile,

fertile, did not the ſpirit of devaſtation deſtroy every thing, even to the ſpontaneous productions of the earth. Many other canals are cut through the Delta, ſeveral of which are navigable; and that of Manouf joins the two arms of the Nile below the ſummit of the angle, which is called the Cow's Belly. This canal comes from Nadir, and not from Gueſeid, where D'Anville has placed its opening; it paſſes through the province of Manoufia, the cultivation of which can only be compared with the moſt beautiful kitchen garden. The map of this celebrated geographer appears to me, in other reſpects, as exact as it was poſſible to make it, in a country where the government could not allow the baſes to be determined, and the face of which is ſo even as not to preſent any point from whence obſervations can be taken.

The country of Egypt is in fact ſo low, that were it not for a few little hillocks formed by the ruins of ancient Alexandria, and the prodigious height of Pompey's Pillar, the land would not be diſtinguiſhable. The whole coaſt is horizon;

zon; and it is with difficulty one perceives, from three leagues off at sea, some palm trees, which seem to grow out of the water. It is not to the flatness of the country alone, however, that Egpt is indebted for its periodical inundation.

We have already seen that the trade winds, from West and North, by pushing the clouds of Europe on Abyssinia, blow in the direction of the Nile, in which mechanism of Nature it must be remarked, that the wind, by driving back the waters of the river, becomes the principal cause of its overflowing. Having reached its highest degree towards the middle of September, the winds then becoming trade winds from the Southward, concur with the natural descent of the Nile, to accelerate the draining of the water, at the same time that they collect the superfluous clouds, now of no further use, over Abyssinia and Ethiopia, and carry them, for the same beneficial purpose of a periodical inundation, towards the sources of the Euphrates, to enrich Mesopotamia, after abundantly watering Egypt.

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At this period, therefore, one ſees a column of clouds paſs the Red Sea, towards the iſthmus of Suez, ſpread over Syria, and collect on Mount Ararat; whilſt the ſame trade wind blowing in the Gulph of Perſia, compreſſing the waters of the Euphrates, produces in Meſopotamia, by the ſame means, the ſame advantages enjoyed by Egypt.

This meteorological obſervation, the particulars of which I have carefully attended to, may be verified every year, in a climate, where the ſerenity of the heavens cannot admit of error.

All the deſcriptions of Egypt hitherto agree in conſidering the mud, with which the waters of the Nile are loaded during its increaſe, and which are left on the lands they overflow, as a fattener, which fertilizes the country. In analyſing it, however, no vegetative quality is diſcoverable before its union with the ſand, which, together with the clay, compoſes the ſoil of Egypt, in about the ſame proportion as in the earthen manufactures; nor is this mud any other than the produce of the crumbling of the two banks of the Nile, when it carries off the clayey

clayey part. Its ſpecific lightneſs, joined to the motion of the waters, keeps its particles ſuſpended, whilſt the ſand ſettles, and forms new iſlands for the inhabitants, after the draining of the waters. The cultivator takes immediate poſſeſſion of them, his induſtry ſupplying the barrenneſs of the ſand, with which he mixes pigeons dung, then ſows his water melons, and enjoys a plentiful crop, before the ſucceeding inundation deſtroys theſe iſlands to produce others.

The whirlpools which occaſion theſe variations, neceſſarily ariſe from the double effort, of the deſcent of the waters, and the wind which counteracts them; but the Nile, notwithſtanding this agitation, is ſo eaſy to be kept within its bounds, that many fields, ſituated below the ſurface of the water, in its increaſe, are preſerved from ſuffering from the inundation, by means only of a dam of eight or ten inches thickneſs in moiſt ground.

This method, which coſts the huſbandman but little labour, is made uſe of to preſerve the Delta, when it is threatened by an inundation. This iſland, which pro-

produces annually three crops, is conſtantly watered by machines built on the Nile, and on the canals which interſect it, but it is very ſeldom in danger of being drowned; and this rich part of Egypt, which is cloſe to the ſea, would, feel the effects of the ſwelling ſtill leſs, did not the trade-winds accumulate the waters of the Mediterranean towards the ſouth.

It is important to obſerve, that the Delta, higher than the reſt of Egypt, is bordered towards the ſea, by a foreſt of palm trees, called the foreſt of Beleros, the ground of which is far above the higheſt elevation of the waters, a topographical remark of itſelf ſufficient to overthrow the ſyſtem of the formation of the Delta by a ſediment. Land which is higher than the greateſt inundations, can never owe its origin to them; it can only have occaſioned the diviſion of the Nile into two branches; but neither this circumſtance, nor the exiſtence of the iſland that ſeparates them, required ſo much labour; and Mr. Maillet might, in this reſpect, have ſpared himſelf the repetition of the ſyſtem of Ephoris, which

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was not held in eſtimation, even by his cotemporaries.

The veſtiges of the canals which watered the eaſtern and weſtern provinces of the Delta, prove that it was formerly the ſeat of the richeſt cultivation of Egypt. It may alſo be preſumed, from the extent of the ruins of Alexandria, the ſtructure of the canal, and the natural equality of the lands which ſurround Lake Mareotis, and which extend from the weſtward, as far as the kingdom of Barca, that this country, now in the poſſeſſion of the Arabs, and almoſt totally uncultivated, was formerly as rich in productions of every kind, as was neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of Alexandria.

One ſees, from the ſituation of the canal of Alexandria, that after watering that town, and aſſiſting its commerce, it muſt have fertilized the upper part of thoſe lands, ſituated on the left bank of the Nile, oppoſite the Delta; whilſt a dyke, thrown up at Bequers*, keeping off the ſea, added a large territory to Egypt, the cultivation of which reached

* A ſmall harbour, ſituated between Alexandria and Roſetta.

ed to the ſuburbs of that immenſe city, reduced at preſent to a ſmall town built on the new iſthmus, formed between the two ports, and which joins the Iſle of Pharos to the Continent. This capital of the commerce of the univerſe, long ſince condemned to ſerve only as a ſtaple for the conſumption of Egypt, ſeems to have baniſhed itſelf from its own walls; but it is impoſſible to throw one's eyes on the extent and magnificence of its ruins, without feeling, that the greateſt powers have only a value proportionate to the age which employs them, and the genius of the men entruſted with their management.

Egypt, ſo ſituated as to combine the commerce of Europe, Africa, and the Eaſt Indies, was in want of a port, which ſhould at once be ſpacious and eaſy of approach; the mouth of the Nile offered none of theſe requiſites; the only harbour on that coaſt was in the midſt of a deſert, at twelve leagues from the river, and could only be diſcovered by an elevated genius; a town was to be built, and it was himſelf who furniſhed the plan of it. To what a pitch of ſplen-

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dor did he not raiſe Alexandria, in its origin? He joined it to the Nile by a canal at once navigable, and uſeful for cultivation. It became the city of all nations, the metropolis of commerce. He is honoured even by its aſhes, piled up by the barbarity of ages, and which wait only for ſome beneficent hand to expand them, and cement the reconſtruction of the moſt ſtupendous edifice hitherto conceived by the human mind.

The nature of the rock which lines the coaſt of Egypt, proves that the iſland, on which the Pharos is built, can only have been formed by the aſhes of Alexandria, and that the ſhallow which ſeparates the two baſons, aroſe from the ruins brought there by the ſea. This new ſhore further teſtifies the truth of this obſervation, and the waves daily expoſe to view a number of engraved ſtones, which muſt have belonged to the ruins of the ancient city.

Its ruins teſtify, at every ſtep, its ancient ſplendor, and the form of its incloſure, which repreſents a Macedonian cloak, ſeems to have awed the very barbarians, in their different ſackings of this

this town, by recalling the memory of its founder. The ſame walls which protected its induſtry and riches, defend, at this day, its ruins, and exhibit a maſterpiece of maſonry.

Some hiſtorians pretend, that the Saracens built the preſent walls in place of thoſe they had deſtroyed; but if the hand of theſe plunderers is to be traced at all, it is only in the repairs, which are as deſtitute of neatneſs as of regularity; it is impoſſible to attribute to them the conſtruction of the walls, which ſeparate Alexandria from Necropolis; it would be as abſurd as giving them the honour of elevating Pompey's Pillar.

This monument, the motive and founder of which are equally unknown, ſituated near the canal, between Necropolis and the walls of Alexandria, muſt have belonged to the ſuburb, which, according to different authors, joined the Lake Mareotis. It may be conjectured, from the fragments of roſe granite, and above all from the ancient foundations which ſurround the column, that it ſtood in the midſt of the Market-place. But, without puſhing our inquiries

quiries beyond the limits prescribed by the obscurity of time, the examination of the column itself sufficiently excites our admiration. I will not repeat the description given of it by M. Maillet, and other travellers. I shall content myself with remarking, that this enormous mass, resting on a stone not more than half the size of the *stilobate*, which bears centrically upon it, has only been supported through so many ages by the exact adherence of the two planes, and the perfection of their horizontal workmanship. This point of support, which may be easily examined by a hollow made in the rough stone work, which seems to support its base, consists of a piece of granite, sunk to a greater or less depth into the calcareous rock, which forms the natural foundation. The inspection of the hieroglyphics, engraved on that part of it which is laid open to view, may induce a conjecture, that a fragment of an obelisk has been made use of for the foundation stone. It appears more natural, however, to imagine, that these characters point out the history of the column.

The

The perfect upright I have just spoken of, leaves no doubt of the perpendicular and successive bearings of the stilobate, the base, the shaft, and the capital; but it is very difficult to conceive the means employed in raising this shaft, which is one piece of rose granite of more than nine feet diameter, of the Corinthian order, and upwards of eighty feet high. This work can never have been effected without the aid of cranes, and this observation would induce one to believe that the imitation of Archimedes's crow was known in Egypt before we were acquainted with it; which, in fact, is not more surprizing than to find our joiner's holdfast and plane under the lava of Mount Vesuvius.

This is not the only monument, whose boldness astonishes the traveller in Egypt. Cleopatra's Needle, not less difficult to raise, proves that the arts of Greece were not profusely distributed in such works throughout Upper Egypt. One may observe, even in the capitals of Pompey's Pillar, an imitation of the leaves of the acanthus, too clumsy not to bespeak workmen more accustomed

to

to move theſe enormous maſſes, than to handle the chiſſel of Phidias. The tool of the Egyptians ſhows ſome degree of delicacy only in the cutting of the hieroglyphics. Cleopatra's Needle is covered with them on its four ſides; its baſe, which is buried under rubbiſh, prevents one from judging of its point of ſupport, but by examining a ſimilar needle, which is overthrown and broken near the former, it is evident that they both reſted on four cubes of braſs. One may perceive alſo, that theſe two obeliſks, in the ſame line with two large ranges of buildings, at equal diſtances, ſerved to decorate this ſpot of ground, which, from its veſtiges, appears to have been the ſituation of a palace. That of Cleopatra is ſuppoſed to be viſible; but I diſcovered more diſtinctly, in a rotunda, tolerably well preſerved, and above all from ſeveral dungeons which ſurround it, the tribunal of juſtice, and I was aſtoniſhed to remark the excellent preſervation of the plaiſter which covers the walls.

More certain marks point out the principal place of Alexandria. Several columns,

lumns, two of which are in the centre of one of the ſides of the place, and oppoſite to an enormous quantity of fallen roofs, plainly mark the entrance of the principal Temple, and leave no doubt that they are ruins of that of Jupiter Serapis. If the ſpirit of deſtruction was not invariably ſluggiſh and ignorant, theſe precious remains would diſappear more ſpeedily. I have ſeen the barbarians, who are the depoſitories of them, employed in hacking the trunks of columns to make mill-ſtones, and have had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing them loſe their labour, from their unſkilfulneſs. Theſe cauſes preſerve, it is true, the larger maſſes from immediate deſtruction, but the ſtatues fall an invariable ſacrifice to avarice, wherever they are diſcovered; but ſuch is the fanatiſm of the Arabs, that they never ſell them to the Europeans, without mutilating theſe pretended idols. The ſmall profit they acquire from this traffic, not encouraging their labour, fortunately prevents them from beſtowing any pains in ſearching amongſt the ruins, and preſerves this precious treaſure for our poſterity.

The ſuburbs of Alexandria, that which joined Necropolis, and the other, the ſtreets of which are ſtill diſtinguiſhable in the plain leading to Roſetta, contain, undoubtedly, a great deal of riches buried under their ruins, and the ſite of Necropolis ‡ is covered with little hillocks, which induce one to conſider theſe heaps as the wreck of thoſe temples and monuments raiſed by the pious ſuperſtition of the ancient Egyptians. I have viſited the catacombs of this city with attention, (the burying ground of Alexandria) and although they cannot be compared with thoſe of the ancient Memphis, which the Arabs conceal from the eyes of the curious, in order to enſure the ſale of their mummies, it is probable that the method of embalming being the ſame, the form of theſe catacombs only differ in their proportions. It is obſerved even that Nature not having furniſhed this part of Egypt with a ledge of rocks, like that on the borders of the Nile above the Delta, the ancient inhabitants of Alexandria have only been able

‡ Necropolis, City of the Dead; this Greek word is compoſed of Νεκρος, Death, and Πολις, City.

able to imitate them, by making a ſort of hollow way in the bed of live rock which they deſigned for the building of Necropolis. This excavation, of thirty or forty feet wide, two hundred feet long, and twenty-five feet deep, is terminated by gentle deſcents at its extremities; the two ſides perpendicularly cut, contain ſeveral large openings ten or twelve feet high, cut horizontally out of the rock, and which form, from their different branches, ſubterraneous ſtreets. That which curioſity has laid open, by clearing away the rubbiſh and ſand, which render the entrance of the others inconvenient or impracticable, contains no longer any mummies; but the places they formerly occupied, and the order in which they were ranged, are ſtill viſible. Holes of twenty inches ſquare, and ſix feet long in a horizontal direction, narrowed at the end, and ſeparated from one another by partitions, of ſeven or eight inches thick, left in the rock, divide the two walls of this cavern into chequer work.

We may judge from this deſcription, that each mummy was put with its feet

foremoſt into the opening deſtined for its reception, and that new ſtreets were opened out in proportion to the increaſe of inhabitants at Necropolis. I thought this obſervation, by throwing ſome light on the catacombs of Memphis, might explain the enormity, the number, as well as the different elevations of the pyramids of Upper and Lower Egypt; and I ſhall now examine thoſe of Giſa, to draw ſuch inferences from them, as appear to be founded on probability. I have already ſaid, that they are built on the bed of rocks, which extend along the edge of Lybia; two of theſe pyramids differ very little in their ſize, and the third, only three hundred feet high, has never been much attended to: the largeſt of them is ſix hundred feet long on each ſide of the ſquare of its baſe, and of its height; and the curious traveller may examine the inſide of this enormous ſtructure. The Conſul Maillet, in giving the deſcription, and the moſt exact plans and ſections of it, aſſerts that this pyramid has been violated, but this ſingular manner of accounting for the ſuppoſed deficiency of the courſes of ſtones, which,

which, according to him, muſt have concealed the entrance of the galleries by which we penetrate at this day even to the ſarcophagus in the centre of the monument, by no means proves the operation of any violence. It appears very certain, on the contrary, that this pyramid never has been ſhut; nor could avarice or curioſity commit any ſuch violation in fact, without leaving evident traces of the different attempts which muſt neceſſarily have been made. None of the ſides of the neighbouring pyramid any where indicate their entrance; how then could the entrance to this have been firſt diſcovered? Why remove the lower courſes of ſtone, which formed no obſtacle? How happens it that the toothing ſtones ſhould ſtill have preſerved ſo remarkable a neatneſs in the finiſhing? In ſhort, how can the *bas relief*, placed below the key of the roof, and the perfection of the whole work have ſuffered ſo little by this violence? Maillet, however, in ſupport of his hypotheſis, enters into all the details of the labour he ſuppoſes, and furniſhes the Egyptians with the moſt complicated means for effecting

what the enormity of these masses, and still more the pious superstition of that people rendered unnecessary for the security of these asylums, which commanded respect from every circumstance.

The accuracy of this writer would have left nothing to be said on the subject of the inside of this monument, had he been able to penetrate into the perpendicular well in the centre of the pyramid, of which he only points out the opening. The different attempts to descend into it, which have proved abortive, either from the want of proper means, or from the timidity of the persons who have made them, still leave a field open for conjectures. It seems to me, however, that as this well could have no apparent object of utility, it ought more properly to be considered as a mysterious passage. This idea, combined with the opinions of the ancient Egyptians, respecting death, will gather more weight from the following observations:

The most interesting remark is in the similarity between the upper and lower tombs. Each pyramid has its catacombs; the ledge of rock, cut with a chisel, for

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the length of fifty toiſes, (upwards of ſix hundred feet Engliſh) perpendicularly with the top of the firſt pyramid, and in a parallel with its horizontal front, has ſeveral openings in it, one of which is lateral, and hollowed out in ſo ſloping a direction, as to make it neceſſary in deſcending, to have ſomething faſtened to the body, even when the Arabs give permiſſion to the traveller to enter it; other paſſages are ſtill ſhut with long ſtones, covered with hieroglyphics and figues in bas relief. One of theſe openings, by which the Arabs draw out the mummies for ſale, is ſhut only by a wooden door, and the entrance of this cavern is entruſted to the care of an Arab, who lives there to guard it; but notwithſtanding the civil reception he gave me, I could only obtain leave from him to look through a window, made by himſelf, no doubt; but I could diſcover nothing but a large vault, wherein the eye was loſt in darkneſs, but the direction of which correſponds with the baſe of its pyramid. Reflecting here on the different branches one paſſes through at Necropolis, as

well as the proportionable extent and elevation of the town of Memphis, one may eaſily conceive the enormity of this excavation. Another eſſential obſervation is, that the pyramids are inconteſtibly of the ſame rock; and it may be boldly pronounced, that the catacomb have been the quarries from which they have been built. If we add to theſe different remarks, the neceſſary effects of the prejudices of a people, whoſe whole life ſeemed conſecrated to death, will it not appear probable, that the inhabitants of Memphis ſhut up the laſt catacombs at the beginning of every reign, to open new ones; that the ſtones procured from this excavation, were employed in conſtructing the mauſoleum of the reigning Sovereign, and that the different ſizes of them were proportioned to the length of their reſpective reigns? Theſe ſtones, all of the ſame kind, carried as they were wanted upon the ſurface, to form theſe monuments, had only to be placed a little back, as ſoon as the extent of the firſt courſe of ſtones would allow a calculation to be made of the neceſſary quantity. It may ſtill further be conjectured,

that

that the well I have ſpoken of, terminating in the lower tombs, furniſhed the Sovereign, according to their ſuperſtitious notions, with the means of communicating with all his ſubjects who died during his reign; a ſufficient motive to inſpire him with the precious, and always uſeful deſire, of being loved by them in his life-time.

On this theory, Egypt would in ſome degree have determined the chronology of her Kings, by a mathematical calculation; and admitting the mean term of mortality in a given population, and the product of the ſtones of the catacombs in an equal proportion, it would be enough to have the duration of the reign of one of the Pharaohs, and the height of his monument, to find by a rule of proportion, the length of each reign.

In this point of view, too, every idea of oppreſſion, ſlavery, and tyranny diſappears at the ſight of theſe huge maſſes; and we ſhall regard them only as a laſt compact between the Sovereign and his ſubjects: and if we recollect the ſeverity of that tribunal before which every dead perſon was arraigned, before he obtain-

ed a burial, we ſhall believe we have diſcovered the cauſe of the opening left in the great pyramid of Giſa, and ſhall behold thoſe which are ſhut with veneration.

If a general obſervation of theſe objects furniſhes us with this conjecture, it will be further confirmed by a more attentive examination. The conſtruction of Joſeph's canal, the works of Upper Egypt, the celebrated Lake Mœris, and the canals which ſtill enrich the Lower Egypt, are monuments of human labour, as evidently as the pyramids. How can we ſuppoſe theſe to have been the works of tyranny?—The benefactors of mankind, have they ever really been their oppreſſors? But amongſt a people wholly occupied in preparing for their ſepulture, who had ever ſubmitted to deny themſelves that right they held ſo dear, unleſs they were judged worthy of it, it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe that any ſort of oppreſſion can have been employed in their conſtruction †.

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† I do not pretend, in this paſſage, to impeach what the Holy Scripture tells us of the oppreſſions ſuffered by the Iſraelites in Egypt, and of the labours to which they were condemned.

The proportion of the ſtones which compoſe the pyramids, is from ſeven to eight feet long, by three feet high, and four broad, placed three feet within each other, and one for the covering, although that of the firſt is totally deſtroyed, which enables one eaſily to mount to the top of it. It cannot be doubted that the ſtones for it had been previouſly prepared, when one conſiders the number of priſms granite ſtill ſpread around this monument. I found one, the ſide of the hypothenuſe of which had been cut, to ſerve as one of the angles of the pyramid. This diſcovery would have ſaved Mr. Maillet the trouble he has taken to diſcover from the cement the quality of the covering; it would alſo have prevented him from miſtaking ſome fragments of the calcareous rock for pieces of white marble. It may be preſumed, that the priſms which ſtill cover the upper part of the ſecond pyramid, will be detached for the ſole pleaſure of ſeeing theſe maſſes roll down on the lower beds of the monument. This muſt have been the cauſe of the deſtruction of thoſe priſms that are wanting, for which the

the ſlighteſt effort is ſufficient; and this ſort of amuſement is to be gratified by ſome people at any expence.

It is oppoſite to the ſecond pyramid, a ſmall diſtance before the rock, that the famous Sphynx, much more celebrated than it merits, is ſtill to be ſeen. It is no more, in fact, than a maſs of rock, extending in the ſhape of an aſs's back to the great ledge, in the direction of the centre of this pyramid. They have given to this rock the form of a Sphynx; and have cut two ſquare wells out of its back, to ſerve by way of entrance into the catacombs, and by this means, the tombs ſeemed to be intruſted to the guardianſhip of this monſter.

It appears alſo, that each pyramid and catacomb had their temple, the ruins of which are only to be found, notwithſtanding the precaution of building them with enormous ſtones. I meaſured one of them twenty-two feet long, by ſeven feet high, and nine feet thick, the joints of which are ſtill perfectly united. When we conſider that the moſt ancient writers only ſpeak of theſe edifices as we ſpeak of them ourſelves, at what epocha ſhall we

we fix the conſtruction of ſeveral large pyramids to the weſt of thoſe of Giſa, of which there is nothing remaining but a few courſes of ſtone? I ſhall not ſpeak of thoſe ſmall tombs, which are ſcarcely viſible; but I cannot quit theſe monuments, without communicating the ſenſation produced on myſelf by their very aſpect, which alone can give any idea of the height of theſe maſſes, which we cannot repreſent by any object of compariſon.

I have already ſaid, that I ſet out at midnight from Giſa, with the Arabs, who were to conduct me to their pyramids, of which we followed the direction without loſing ſight of thoſe huge piles, which ſeemed to me like ſo many mountains. —Arriving at a village, which had hid them for a moment; on coming out of it, they appeared to me ſo prodigiouſly elevated, that I thought I could have touched them. I was even going to diſmount, when my guides told me that we were ſtill at a league's diſtance. We continued our journey in fact near three quarters of an hour, at the end of which the pyramids appeared to me ſo much diminiſhed,

miniſhed, that I got from my horſe, at a hundred paces from the firſt, as much aſtoniſhed at the ſmallneſs of its height, as I had before been at its enormous ſize; but I ſoon found its magnitude again on approaching it, and theſe contradictory phenomena of my viſion, induced me to examine it on the principles of optics. For that purpoſe I went to the diſtance of more than ſix hundred paces from the pyramid, on a plane, horizontal to its baſe. I then turned round, and this point of view giving me its greateſt elevation, I remarked, that at this diſtance, the perpendicular height of the monument filled the angle of the rays of viſion, ſo that on coming nearer this angle, which I ſhall compare with the two points of a compaſs, could only embrace one port; and at one hundred paces diſtance, I could ſcarcely diſcover the third, which was the cauſe of the ſenſation I had experienced. It follows from this obſervation, that every elevation which goes beyond the chord of the two rays of viſion, is an exceſs, and every thing which does not fill it, a deficiency. This principle would be uſefully applied to buildings,

buildings, if the dimenſions were to be determined by the diſtance of the ſpectator *. Although the affairs I was entruſted with did not allow me to viſit the plains of the mummies, I was informed from undoubted authority, that the ſands which covers them, ſtill preſerves the property of drying the bodies. The rock beneath ſerves at the ſame time for the luxury of private burials. May we not conclude from hence, that this plan, out of reach of the inundations, and from that reaſon as uſeleſs to the living as favourable to the dead, ſerved by way of burial ground for the inhabitants of thoſe ſmall towns and villages of Egypt, who, from

* The colonnade of the Louvre has been ſenſibly increaſed in magnitude ſince the houſes have been knocked down, which obliged the ſpectators to take too near a view of it. It would be ſeen in its higheſt perfection, if it could be laid open as far as the church of St. Germain L'Auxerrois; further off, it would loſe its beauty. For the ſame reaſon, the colonnade of the Palace of Louis XV. ſhould have been proportioned to its diſtance from the road to Verſailles; and one cannot help regretting at ſeeing the church of St. Genevieve from the Rue St. Jacques, that ſo beautiful a copy of the antique, ſhould have been meaſured with the bold proportions of its models.

from their ſituation, could be conveyed thither.

The people of the country ſay, that the funeral monuments of Thebais are innumerable, and ſurpaſs, in magnificence, thoſe of Memphis and Alexandria. They add, that temples are ſtill to be ſeen there, whoſe columns of roſe granite are as large as that of Pompey, and that the paintings on the inſide are not leſs remarkable. It cannot be doubted that Upper Egypt contains alſo an infinity of treaſure buried under its ruins. It is not long ſince, that a Copt diſcovered an urn filled with medals of gold, the greateſt part of which he ſecretly melted; but an Engliſhman had the good fortune to procure about a hundred of them, ſome of which are now in the King of France's Cabinet.

There is no reaſon to imagine that ſuch an inſtance, by exciting the cupidity of the inhabitants, will be attended with any bad conſequence reſpecting the preſervation of theſe monuments; the dread of the perſecutions which would follow ſuch diſcoveries, will always reſtrain thoſe who might be tempted to purſue them.

Amongſt

Amongſt the different works which have thrown a luſtre on ancient Egypt, the canal of communication between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, would merit the firſt place, if the efforts of genius in favour of public utility, were ſeconded by the generations deſtined to reap the fruits of it; and if the fundamental principles of ſocial good, could acquire as much ſtability as the prejudices which tend to overthrow it. This, however, is the epitome of all hiſtory: it offers nothing but this picture, which is the picture of all nations, and of all ages. Without theſe ſucceſſive ſcenes of deſtruction, the univerſe would have been governed only by its geography; the ſituation the moſt favourable by nature, would have dictated unalterable laws, and the canal of the Red Sea would have formed the perpetual baſis of the public rights of nations.

The moſt ill-founded opinions, but which always prevail over the moſt accurate obſervations, have eſtabliſhed pretty general doubts on the exiſtence of this canal; even the poſſibility of it has been denied: Diodorus Siculus, however,

however, bears teſtimony to its exiſtence; and whatever opinion may be entertained of this author in other reſpects, there is no reaſon for rejecting his authority reſpecting facts to which he was himſelf a witneſs.

He expreſſes thus, in his Univerſal Hiſtory:—*Book the Firſt, Second Part.*—"A canal of communication is made, "which goes from the Peluſiac Gulph "into the Red Sea. Necos, ſon of *Pſammeticus*, began it; Darius, King of "Perſia, continued the work; but he "ſtopped it, on the advice of ſome en"gineers, who informed him, that by "opening out the lands, he would over"flow Egypt, which they found to be "below the level of the Red Sea. Ptolemy "the Second, nevertheleſs, finiſhed "the undertaking; but he made them "place, in the moſt convenient part of "the canal, barriers or ſluices, very in"geniouſly contrived, which are opened "when one wants to paſs them, and are "very quickly ſhut. It is for this reaſon "that the river takes the name of Ptolemy, "in this canal, which diſcharges itſelf "into the ſea, at the ſpot where the town

"of

" of Arſinoë is built."—It is proved from this paſſage, that ſluices were in uſe in the time of Diodorus, of Sicily. The foundation on which they were built, is to be ſeen at this day. This monument of antiquity was diſcovered near Suez, at the entrance of the canal, that ſtill exiſts, and which a very trifling labour would render navigable without employing any ſluices, or threatening Egypt with inundations*. Nothing, in fact, could juſtify the engineers of Dorcus, even although their level had been taken at the moment of the higheſt tides. It is likewiſe very important to obſerve, that all this part of the iſthmus affords the moſt favourable ſoil for excavations, in the ſmall ſpace of twelve leagues, which ſeparates the Arabic Gulph from the branches of

* Sultan Muſtapha, whoſe mind began to be enlightened, made me undertake a work reſpecting this important object, the execution of which he reſerved until the return of peace. At that period, too, he propoſed to attack the vices of his government; and I have reaſon to preſume that he would, amongſt the reſt, have ſacrificed even his own deſpotiſm, had this Prince ſurvived the unfortunate circumſtances, which have prepared the way for the downfall of this empire.

of the Nile that approach it, until it throws itſelf, at length, into the Mediterranean at Tineck.

After taking a curſory view of the monuments which appear more properly to appertain to the univerſe, than to Egypt in particular, let us now examine the preſent ſtate of that kingdom. Were we to view it with an eye to the various circumſtances which conſtitute the power of a nation, the politician would perhaps behold only with a ſort of contempt this great metropolis of the world, the cradle of all the arts and all the ſciences, reduced at this day to be the province of the leaſt powerful of empires; but the political philoſopher will view it under an aſpect more worthy his attention; and if he ſtill finds in that climate the productions, and the population of ancient Egypt, the ſame cauſes which have rendered it ſo celebrated; theſe permanent advantages which cannot be deſtroyed by ages, and have reſiſted the greateſt revolutions, will have a decided preference over thoſe governments, which, like chymical compoſitions, diſappear on the firſt contrary proceſs to that which has produced

duced them. Such no doubt were thoſe powers, the memory of which is tranſmitted us by hiſtory, whoſe capitals are ſcarcely to be found by geography.

In Egypt, on the contrary, we ſee their greateſt Kings concerting their ambition in works uſeful for the cultivation of the earth, which never failed to furniſh them with the means of quenching that thirſt of glory, which the reſt of the world led mankind to intoxicate themſelves with—the deſtructive notions of robbery and conqueſt.

Did the immenſity of the labour allow us to attribute the formation of Lake Mœris to the work of man, the utility of this prodigious reſervoir would conſtitute the chief monument of the beneficence of the Pharaohs; but although the extent and depth of this lake leave ſome doubt of its origin, there can be none on the ſubject of the canal of Joſeph, that of Trajan, and of Alexandria, and thoſe of the Delta. They have viſibly been formed by the hand of man. The facility with which the lands are watered by their means, leaves not a ſpot of ground uncultivated; and the richneſs of

of the ſoil, by multiplying the crops, maintains and animates the population. There is no country exiſting where it is more remarkable than in Egypt. The Delta; in fact, the eaſtern and weſtern provinces, as well as all the lands on the banks of the Nile, as far as the Tropic, preſent a picture of the moſt immenſe population. I am aſſured that in Egypt there are more than *nine thouſand villages*, and *one hundred and two thouſand* towns or burghs. It is very certain, however, that theſe places are ſo near each other, that on my ſtopping at *Mentoubes*, below *Fouca*, I counted no leſs than forty-two of them, in running over the horizon with my eye, and the moſt diſtant of which was not two leagues off.

Every where throughout this country, within the reach of the inundations, theſe habitations are built on little hills, thrown up for that purpoſe, and which form the common foundation of all the houſes that are built on them, and which they are induced to compreſs in as ſmall a ſpace as poſſible, for the benefit of cultivation.—The precaution of elevating them is eſſentially neceſſary to prevent the

the houſes, which are built of earth from being deſtroyed by the inundations. The villages are always ſurrounded by an infinite number of little pointed turrets, to attract the pigeons for the purpoſe of collecting their dung. Every ſettlement has likewiſe a ſmall wood of palm trees adjoining it, which is common property, and furniſhes the inhabitants with dates for their conſumption, and the leaves for the making of baſkets, matts, and other articles of that nature. Little cauſeways, elevated alſo on account of the inundation, keep up a free communication every where during that period. It is on the borders of the Nile, and on the great canals, that the large towns are formed, where all the houſes are built of brick, of ſeveral ſtories, and in pretty much the ſame taſte as that which prevailed in France in the time of Francis the Firſt: the palm-trees which ſurround them, and the boats which line their banks, add much to the beauty of their ſituation.

It is thus, by uniting agriculture with commerce, that all the towns of Egypt are connected, animated, and profited by the

the mutual induſtry that ſurrounds them. But Cairo does not limit the advantages of her ſituation to the ſole intereſt of Egypt; her commerce embraces the two hemiſpheres of the globe: one there ſees the ſtreets daily embarraſſed by the number of camels employed in tranſporting the merchandize of Europe, and of the Indies; and the aſſemblage of bales, ſome marked for Madras, and others for Marſeilles, ſeems here to have fixed a centre to the univerſe.

Cairo, called Miſſir by the Arabs, is ſituated at half a league's diſtance from the Nile, on the right bank of that river:—This town touches the mountains of Arabia; and it is at the angle formed by them in ſtretching to the eaſtward, that the caſtle of Cairo is built:—Boulac, and Old Cairo are its ſuburbs; and if we comprehend theſe two towns, in calculating the population of the capital, we ſhall find in the 700,000 inhabitants it contains, a freſh proof of the immenſe population of Egypt*.

Cairo

* The Chief of the Cuſtom-houſe in Egypt, who muſt be conſidered as the Controler General of that kingdom, aſſured me that the town of Cairo ALONE con-

Cairo contains ſome palaces ſpacious enough to merit decoration; ſuch as the Palace of Luſbequia, that of Romelia, and that of the grand Moſque, called Sultan Haſſan; but all the ſtreets are narrow, badly contrived, and ill paved; the palaces themſelves, which contain the greateſt riches, have nothing in their external appearance that announces the opulence of this town. Wholly occupied with the rich commerce of the productions of Egypt, by the Nile; thoſe of Europe, by the Mediterranean; and with that of Yemen, and the Indies, by the Red Sea; this capital ſtill further ſwallows up all the territorial revenues expended there by the grandees. Its ſubſiſtence, which is connected alſo with commerce, increaſes its wealth, and luxury is conſequently grown to ſuch a height, as to under-value even gold, and they can ſcarcely be ſatisfied with the richeſt fabrics of India.

Every thing that in another country muſt be the ſole produce of an enlighten-

contained more than 700,000 inhabitants; and I have added the ſuburbs of Boulac and Old Cairo to my calculation, to avoid the poſſibility of exaggeration.

ed adminiſtration, conſtantly directed on the moſt ſalutary principles, ſprings from its own happy ſoil in Egypt. The richneſs of its productions, by ſupplying the avidity of the tyrant, ſecures the cultivator from the effects of tyranny; and its ſuperfluous corn, become a moſt eſſential article for Arabia Felix, procures freſh articles of barter, and places active commerce on the moſt ſolid and independent footing.—The principal ports of Egypt are Suez and Alexandria; but it is not from theſe two harbours that we muſt judge of the importance of its trade; where there is no adminiſtration, there can neither exiſt corporate bodies of traders, excluſive private privileges, nor ſubaltern monopolies; commerce takes its natural level, real ſubſtantial credit gets poſſeſſion of it, the cultivator becomes the partner of the merchant, and its agents receive their pay. It is on this principle, doubtleſs, that we muſt account for the poverty of the two towns I have been ſpeaking of; they are only hired agents of commerce. Suez, in particular, is remarkable for the miſery of its inhabitants; and the Arabs have become

come maſters of the privilege of tranſporting the merchandize, without renouncing that of pillaging, as often as anarchy gives them the opportunity of doing it unpuniſhed.

Beſides the corn which Egypt exchanges in the Yemen, for the coffee which is ſold in Europe, and particularly amongſt the Turks, the rice, the flax, the ſalt of natrum, made uſe of in the tanneries; ſal ammoniac, for tin work; kenna and ſafranum, for dying; the moſt precious drugs and gums, conſtitute moſt important articles of commerce. Sugar is the only article, wherein the induſtry of the Egyptians does not exceed the conſumption of the country; and the ſmall quantity of powder ſugar exported to Conſtantinople, does not beſpeak the quality of that fine ſugar which comes from Upper Egypt, and is refined at Cairo. The Delta furniſhes alſo a great quantity of ſugar canes; but they are only cultivated there for the pleaſure of the inhabitants, who uſe them by way of refreſhment. A more uſeful branch of induſtry is the manufacture of linens, which is under no reſtraint or regulation,

and extends even to the catacombs, as well as the culture of indigo; and the cloathing, which in this burning climate conſiſts only in a linen ſhirt, always died blue, enables them likewiſe to export a quantity of that article. There is a conſiderable commerce, likewiſe, for the ſalt, found in the natural ſalt-pits in the lower parts of Egypt, for the ſupply of the coaſt of Syria, and the interior parts of the country as far as Damaſcus.

It is worthy of remark, that foreign plants, tranſplanted into Egypt, degenerate there, ſo as to be incapable of reproduction. This happens with the indigo: and it is as remarkable, that the fields of indigo, annually ſown with freſh grain, brought from Syria, furniſh the Egyptians with a moſt beautiful dye; whilſt the ſame plant is without that quality in its native ſoil. It follows from this obſervation, that the indigo of Syria muſt be tranſplanted; but that the luxuriance of the ſoil of Egypt, and the great heat of the ſun, injures the quality of the grain, by giving it the property of a hot houſe.

To the goodneſs of the ſoil, and the richneſs of the productions of Egypt, muſt

be

be added the perfect ſalubrity of the air; a circumſtance particularly ſtriking, when we conſider that Roſetta, Damietta, and Manſoura, ſurrounded by plantations of rice, are celebrated for the health of their inhabitants; and Egypt is, perhaps, the only country in the world where this ſort of cultivation is not unhealthy, from the neceſſary quantity of ſtagnated waters. Riches in that country are in no reſpect injurious to the life of man.

The inquiries I carefully made reſpecting the plague, which I had always imagined to be of Egyptian origin, convinced me, that it would not even be known in that country, were not the infection conveyed to Alexandria by its commerce with Conſtantinople. It is in the former town that it always begins to ſhow itſelf. It is but very ſeldom, too, that it reaches Cairo, although no precaution is taken to prevent it; and when it does, the great heats ſoon put a ſtop to it, and hinder it from penetrating into the ſaid town; beſides, it is well known, that the piercing dews which fall in Egypt, towards Midſummer, deſtroy even at Alexandria the very ſeeds of this diſorder.

It is only on the coaſts of the Mediterranean, and about ten leagues up the country, that rains are known in Egypt; they very rarely extend any farther. There ſcarcely falls two hours gentle rain in a year at Cairo; thunder is never heard, and ſtorms, which are very uncommon, always fall on the elevated parts of the deſarts of Lybia and Arabia, where they have nothing to deſtroy. It is thus that every thing concurs in diffuſing over Egypt the choiceſt gifts of Nature; birds of every kind, and of the rareſt ſpecies of them, ſeem to collect here in quantities to enjoy its beauties and advantages, and to join their warblings to the natural gaiety of the inhabitants.

The courſe of the Nile preſents the moſt intereſting picture of this kind. The borders of this river, as well as of all the canals, are conſtantly covered with people employed in watering the ground, either by drawing it themſelves, or by driving the animals which aſſiſt them in their labours; an infinite number of draw-buckets, and of vertical wheels, are placed for this purpoſe on the banks; the

the water, which is raiſed by them, and is firſt conveyed into a trench, is diſtributed throughout the grounds, by different branches, which are contrived, and made uſe of by the induſtrious and active planter, with equal ſkill and œconomy. The women who have the management of the houſe, are likewiſe to be ſeen carrying the river water in pitchers on their heads for culinary uſes; others waſh their linen, bleach their cloaths, ſpread them out, and give themſelves up to their natural gaiety, at the firſt object that amuſes them. They then make the air reſound with a lively and rolling ſound, *the lululatus* of the Romans. The paſſage boats eſtabliſhed between one town and another, the barks for the conveyance of the different productions, and the continual navigation reſulting from this commerce, add greatly to the variety and beauty of this moving picture.

This navigation is above all remarkable for the agility of the ſailors, and the manner in which they convey the earthen ware, manufactured in Upper Egypt.—Before I explain this, it is neceſſary to

obſerve, that the earthen jars, employed in preſerving the water for the inhabitants, muſt be made larger in proportion to the diſtances of their houſes from the river or canal; the Lower Egypt being thus ſituated, the potters of Upper Egypt avail themſelves of this circumſtance, to œconomize their means of conveyance: the largeſt jars tied together by their handles form the bottom of their raft, the middle ſized ones the ſecond; the ſmaller articles come next. The proprietor contrives himſelf a convenient place upon his floating ſhop, and furniſhed with a pole to direct his landing; he abandons himſelf to the current without being afraid of ſtriking on a ſoft clay which can hurt nothing. In this manner does he arrive at the Delta, where his veſſel ſoon diſappears, by the ſucceſſive ſale of the materials that compoſed it.

The Egyptians, naturally gentle and timid, are likewiſe gay and debauched; all their actions partake at bottom of this character; the ſmalleſt circumſtance terrifies them,—the ſlighteſt civility renders

ders them familiar. The taſte of this people for dancing has introduced women dancers into Egypt, in which they know no reſtraint, and take no pleaſure but in exceſs. Excepting that the Egyptians have tawny ſkins, they appear to me a beautiful race of people, their bodies are remarkably ſlender, and formed for activity. The men and women ſwim like fiſhes; their dreſs conſiſts only of a blue ſhirt, which ſcarcely deſcends low enough to hide the nakedneſs of the women;—the men faſten theirs, which comes no lower than round their waiſts, for the convenience of working;—the children are always naked, and I have ſeen young girls, ſtill treated as children, at eighteen years of age.

The Mahometan is the eſtabliſhed religion of the Egyptians, but theſe people add a great many ceremonies, which are more connected with their taſte for public ſhows, than with the precepts of the Prophet. Brotherhoods of penitents, nocturnal proceſſions with wax tapers, dreſſes adapted to this ſort of devotion, the hymns which are uſed at burials, the

tears which are ſhed on theſe occaſions, and the *Epulum Ferale* *. Theſe practices are all rather borrowed from the ſuperſtition of their anceſtors, than from the new religion they have embraced. The Egyptians, however, have leſs ferocity in the exerciſe of their prejudices than the Turks, who have fewer ſuperſtitious rites. But the latter are proud and overbearing, whilſt the Egyptians are only weak. One may perceive, alſo, that the amuſements which accompany their ceremonies, captivates them more than the oſtenſible motive; and that the gaiety and libertiniſm of the people, have more effect in their favourite pilgrimages, than the Saint has influence over the minds of thoſe who collect to worſhip him.

The Saints the moſt reſpected, are the Iman Chafi, at Cairo, and the Iman of Tinta, a town ſituated in the middle of the

* The Banquet of the Dead, practiſed amongſt the Romans, in uſe amongſt the Greeks, and rejected by the Mahometans; but it ſtill prevails in Egypt, where the Calif Omar thinks, doubtleſs, that it is better to give way to the ſuperſtition, more ſecurely to govern the ſuperſtitious.

the Delta. This laſt is called Seid Achmet Bedouit. In the month of July, more than 200,000 perſons flock to this tomb, from Upper and Lower Egypt. Commerce which profits by every thing, has eſtabliſhed a fair at that time; women-dancers, and jugglers, collect there alſo, whilſt it laſts. Tinta then combines every thing which can contribute to the gratification of the pilgrims; and the Chek of the Moſque of Seid Achmet and Bedouit, gathers a plentiful harveſt, by taxing the devotion of ſome, and the pleaſures of the greateſt part of them.

Each town in Egypt alſo has its Saint, its proceſſions, and diverſions; every body repairs there,—at leaſt, from the neighbourhood; and the government affords them a ſort of protection. It cannot be doubted, that here, as well as elſewhere, the Saint of the capital enjoys all the privileges of the metropolis, and that his tomb is conſtantly ſupplied with cuſtomers. But the devotion of the women, always more fervent in every country than that of the men, is not limited in Egypt to the invocation of *Manes*;

Manes; and as rogues are always encouraged by dupes, many Saints are to be ſeen at Cairo in perfect good health, to whom the women addreſs themſelves in preference to the dead ones. It is generally at the gate, or in the court of the Moſques, that theſe predeſtined Saints take up their habitations, lying on an indifferent mat; their dreſs proclaims that they already think themſelves in Paradiſe; and this air of bleſſedneſs cheriſhes the veneration of the people. Others, to give themſelves more importance, march gravely along the ſtreets, covered only with a long tunick of white wool. They preach contempt of riches, but aſk alms with inſolence, and conſtantly proclaim the end of the world.

One of theſe Saints gave a proof in Egypt, that the habit of cheating others, leads men at length to impoſe upon themſelves. One of theſe knaves, become an enthuſiaſt, announced to the people the day and hour when, on pronouncing the name of God, he would paſs the Nile, ſtanding on a mat. A croud of curious people accompanied him

him to the ſhore; the Saint ſoon diſappeared in the waves; and the fools, who were waiting for the miracle, by giving it time to operate, left the madman time enough to drown himſelf.

Humanity, degraded by theſe pious abſurdities, is honoured, however, in Egypt, by an unlimited eſtabliſhment for the blind; it is from this reaſon, that from its being open to a general reception, all the blind are collected at Cairo, which has given ſanction to the opinion, that this misfortune is multiplied by the climate. They reckon about four thouſand, maintained by the Moſque of Sultan Haſſan; but, comparatively with our climate, this number does not exceed, perhaps, the proportion of the inhabitants. It muſt be allowed, however, that in Egypt, this diſorder attacks, more particularly, that claſs of individuals who lie habitually in the ſtreets, or on the terraces of the houſes. A freſh dew, which falls in the night, inſenſibly affects the eye-lids, and diſpoſes them to ulceration, from the contraſt with the heat of the day. But on the other hand, the

the ſight of thoſe who ſleep under cover does not even pay the uſual tribute, to which intemperance alone ſubjects the inhabitants of other climates.

After having conſidered the monuments of Egypt, the beauty of its climate, its population, the activity of its inhabitants, and the richneſs of its productions, there is nothing remaining but to throw a glance of contempt on its wretched government.

Some Georgian children tranſported into Egypt, and ſold there, re-people ten or twelve thouſand Mamalukes, which trifling number furniſhes the Beys with ſubalterns more cruel than their maſters, and who carry their tyrannical orders into execution with aggravated barbarity. In examining the canons, or code of Sultan Selim, one would imagine that this Prince capitulated with the Mamalukes, rather than conquered Egypt. It is evident, in fact, that by ſuffering the twenty-four Beys to ſubſiſt, who governed that kingdom, he only aimed at ballancing their authority, by that of a Pacha, whom he conſtituted Governor General,

General, and Preſident of the Council; and this was actually the caſe as long as the Porte was able effectually to ſupport its officers; but the weakneſs of the Ottoman government ſoon reduced it to the ſole reſource of forming diviſions amongſt the Beys, in order to maintain its own authority over them. It is thus that the Turks, by always eſpouſing the weakeſt party, created themſelves new enemies; and theſe frequent errors have reduced the Pachas to an empty title, ſometimes flattered by the Mamalukes, who always take care, however, to retain the perſon who bears it, ſhut up in a cloſe priſon.

The celebrated *Ali-Bey* † contributed the moſt to this anarchy; he had formed the project of becoming independent, and it was to attain that object, that, in the days of his great influence, after expelling or murdering all the Beys who appeared

† For the views and tranſactions of Ali-Bey, and the Cheik-Taher, ſee Dodſley's Annual Regiſter for 1773; in which, however, there are many erroneous particulars reſpecting the Baron de Tott, the Grand Viſir, and Haſſan Pacha.—— Tranſlator.

appeared to poſſeſs too much power for him, to give him hopes of making them inſtrumental in his deſigns, he forced the Pacha to confer all the vacant dignities on his own ſlaves. He thought alſo, that he could not govern Egypt in tranquillity, but by making the *Cheik-Taher* maſter of all Syria and Damaſcus, as far as Gaza, which he reſerved for himſelf. He intended at the ſame time, to eſtabliſh the independence of the Druſes and Mutualis, whom he ſought for allies, imagining, that after raiſing this impenetrable barrier to the Ottoman power, he ſhould have no difficulty in placing the crown of Egypt on his head.

One of his ſlaves, however, whom he had elevated to the dignity of Bey, dared to enter the liſts with him as his rival; and aſſuming the maſk of fidelity which did not impoſe upon the Porte, *Mouhamet-Bey* attacked his maſter, and was ſucceſsful; and, with leſs enlightened views than him, he flew to annihilate the Cheir-Taher, in order to re-unite Syria to Egypt. His ingratitude eſcaped unpuniſhed: he was not ſo fortunate in his politics.

politics. He loſt his life at the ſiege of Acra; and Murad-Bey, who pretended to ſucceed him, was only the tyrant of the day, deſtroyed by the laſt revolution, which has left *Iſmael-Bey* at the head of the government, which has already met with oppoſition, and has taken no character or conſiſtency.

The frequent quarrels which call the Mamalukes to arms, reſemble more the tumult of an aſſaſſination, than an open war. The diſſentions of the tyrants afford the people a ſpectacle which ſerves only to amuſe them. Silent ſpectators, indifferent about the ſucceſs, without concern, and without hope, they never attempt to interrupt any of their operations. If the indifference of the people reſpecting theſe events, which occur ſo frequently, be aſtoniſhing; when one conſiders the facility with which they could diſpoſe of their tyrants, the tranquillity of the latter is ſtill more ſurprizing; there is no viſible reſtraint whatever for the multitude; and the Mamalukes appear to contend for Egypt, as a band of robbers would diſpute the diviſion of a booty.

Each

Each Bey, Governor of a province, names his *Kiachefs*, a ſort of Sub-governor in every diſtrict. Theſe petty tyrants, inveſted with the dignity which prepares the way for their arriving at that of Bey, attach to themſelves ſome Mamalukes without employment, and all the towns and villages of Egypt, reſerved for the Beys, or parcelled out by them amongſt their creatures, are ſubject to a teritorial tribute. The cultivator holds his lands at the diſpoſal of the maſter, aſſigned him by the ruling party. The body of Mamalukes diſperſed throughout Egypt, are always attracted to Cairo on every revolution; but theſe quarrels, by reſtoring the inhabitants to their liberty, never inſpire them with the idea of preſerving it, and the tyrants never imagine, that whilſt they are ſkirmiſhing at the gates of the town, they may be ſhut againſt them.

All the Beys reſide at Cairo, and they have no other troops but their own ſlaves. It is there that intrigues lay the foundation of their frequent revolutions; when they are ready to break out, the Kiachefs, their clients, fly with the Mamalukes

malukes to join their maſters, or to betray them, by deſerting to the oppoſite party, when they find their advantage in it. What can be expected from the combination of ſuch forces, without either diſcipline, or attachment to the public-weal? their avidity, which is the ruling motive that collects them, diſperſes them, as ſoon as they feel the influence of a ſtronger intereſt.

The caſtle of Cairo, which ſcarcely merits that appellation, is in general the ſpot where their diſputes commence; and the contending parties, to get poſſeſſion of this poſt, reſpectively uſe every endeavour to bring over to their ſide the Mamalukes who command it. The poſſeſſion of the town is the ſole object of their conqueſt, which is always followed by that of all the Lower Egypt, becauſe there is nobody to diſpute it, and that the ſituation of Cairo on the Nile, commands the commerce of all its productions, the ſole intereſt of the cultivator; but this town depends, in its turn, on the Delta, and Upper Egypt, from whence it draws its ſubſiſtence. The Seid, is, on this account, the only reſource

ſource of the fugitives, where they retire, to interrupt the navigation of the river, and ſtarve the capital.

Troops detached by the victorious party, follow up the deſtruction of the vanquiſhed Beys, who only obtain pardon by reducing their attendants to two or three Mamalukes, and reſiding at a diſtance, whilſt their partizans continue to negociate, and always with ſucceſs, for their return to Cairo, to join the prevailing party.——During this war againſt the fugitives, the Cheik-Amman, who commands the Arabs in Upper Egypt, becomes a man of conſequence; his aſſiſtance is ſolicited by both parties: but the Arabs confined in Lybia and Stony Arabia, leſs neceſſary, not ſo accommodating, and leſs inſtigated to take a part, pillage on every ſide: the Delta alone, ſurrounded by the waters, is preſerved from their depredations, and the Mamalukes flying on the two banks of the river, eſcape with difficulty from their reſearches. The confuſion is general, until a freſh partition of the governments, diſtricts, and villages, re-eſtabliſhes the adminiſtration,

tration, and again delivers Egypt over to new tyrants.

A ſhort account of the revolution to which I was myſelf a witneſs, will confirm the idea I have here given of the Mamalukes.

After the death of Mouhamet Bey, of whom I have already ſpoken, the Beys of Egypt, divided into two parties, were preparing in ſilence the means of mutual deſtruction. Murat, burning with the ſame ambition which had animated his former maſter, connected with Ibrahim, *the Chek Elbelet**, and ſome other Beys of leſs importance. They exerciſed their tyranny without interruption, whilſt Iſmael, Juſſuf, and ſome other Beys, were themſelves watching the moment to take poſſeſſion of the government.

Iſmael-Aga, a man of abilities, full of art, and a perfect maſter of treachery and diſſimulation, apparently attached to Murat Bey, governed in his name, and fomented and ſupported the oppreſſions, to which ſeveral Coptic and Turkiſh merchants had fallen the victims. Murat, however, on his return from Lachorkye, where

* Commander in Chief.

where he had been harraſſing the Arabs, was informed that one of his people had been baſtinadoed by Soliman *Kiachef*, who was attached to Juſſuf Bey; he ſent for the Kiachef, and ordered him to be repaid that correction with intereſt: Juſſaf knew ſo well how to diſſemble this offence, that Murat was encouraged to imagine he could attempt every thing with impunity. His rivals had even affected to receive him on his return to Cairo, in a ſort of triumph, and both he and Ibrahim thought themſelves in a ſtate of ſecurity; when on the 18th of July, 1777, Iſmael, Juſſuf, all the Beys of their party, and their Mamalukes, quitted the town to get poſſeſſion of Old Cairo, and conſequently of the navigation of the Nile, giving the Chek Elbelet, and Murat to underſtand, at the ſame time, that they had better quietly ſubmit, than wait till they were compelled to it by the ſword or famine. So ſudden a revolt, not giving them time to collect their Mamalukes, they had no other reſource than by taking poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of Cairo, the commanders of which are always in the intereſt of the ruling

ruling party. Murat and Ibrahim, however, daily challenged, and ſtreightened by the troops which beſieged them in the Caſtle, tried in vain the influence of the firmans * of the Pacha, whom they kept a priſoner, but who probably did not wiſh to extricate them from their difficulty. An event ſtill more diſagreeable for Murat, was the deſertion of Iſmael-Aga, who, we have ſeen, was his principal agent and adviſer. This man, inſtead of coming to the Caſtle to follow the fortune of his maſter, went over to the other party, with upwards of 800,000 ſequins, which were entruſted to his care. This treachery ſoon reduced Murat and Ibrahim to the neceſſity of flying into Upper Egypt with a ſlender retinue, with which they took poſſeſſion of Minies. The deſerter, Iſmael, was inveſted with the dignity of Bey, as well as Soliman Kiachef, to whom they made a preſent of Murat's houſe, by way of indemnity for the baſtinado he had received there a fortnight before. Peace was publiſhed at

* An ordinance in form of edict, which the Pachas with three tails, called Viſirs of the Bench, iſſue out in the Grand Signior's name.

at the ſame time, and Juſſuf-Bey, ſo blinded by his pride, as not to ſee that he had only been the inſtrument of this revolution, was already imprudent enough to manifeſt his intentions of governing his aſſociates; but the two Iſmaels were not long in puniſhing him for having formed ſo erroneous an opinion of their characters; they aſſaſſinated him in his own houſe,—his adherents ſuffered the ſame fate, and the new Bey, Soliman, was degraded from his dignity. This event, however, by no means promiſed a laſting peace, and we may fairly preſume that the deſtruction of the fugitives would terminate the harmony of the two tyrants.

I ſhall not quit Egypt without ſubmitting to hiſtorians, and geographers, an obſervation, without which, the particulars of the landing of St. Lewis, at Damietta, as given us by Joinville, would be unintelligible. This ocular witneſs of the fact, ſays, that the King's fleet, diſperſed after its leaving Cyprus, collected together at Damietta, where Lewis landed on an iſland which communicated with the town by a bridge. It follows from

from this, that the Nile falling at that time into the ſea, perpendicularly with the coaſt, had a ſmall arm, which ſtretching to the eaſtward, formed an iſland oppoſite to Damietta. This branch is now become the main bed of the river; and the filling up of the ancient mouth, by joining the iſland to the Delta, preſents the geographer, at this day, only with a tongue of land, which is covered by the town. The hiſtorian will perceive, alſo, that if this change had taken place before the arrival of the Cruſaders, their ſituation would not have been ſo diſtreſſing as it was; the Delta would not only have furniſhed them with abundance of proviſions, but an impenetrable aſylum againſt the cavalry of the Mamalukes, and the ſituation the moſt advantageous for the purpoſe of reducing them. But it was on the oppoſite bank that Saint Lewis expoſed his army to be cut off from the means of ſubſiſtence, by giving the Soudan the opportunity of uniting all his forces againſt him. Joinville ſpeaks of Tanis too, one of the canals of Charkia, as a branch of the Nile, and appears not to be acquainted with

the point of the Delta that ſeparates them. I ſhall here obſerve, alſo, to natural philoſophers, that the fort of St. Lewis, built on the point of the tongue of land, formerly the iſle, on which the landing was effected, is ſtill bathed by the waters of the ſea; and if we conſider that the epocha of its conſtruction muſt neceſſarily be coeval with the exiſtence of the harbour of Frejus, from which the Saint-King embarked on his expedition to Egypt, we may conclude that the filling of that harbour, and its diſtance from the water at this day, muſt be attributed only to the conſtant accumulations of the ſoil and other matters, ſince it is evident, from the preſent ſtate of fort St. Lewis, that there has been no ſenſible alteration in the level of the ſea.

After I had reimbarked at Alexandria, the frigate ſailed along the coaſt of Egypt, ſteering clear of the ſhallow rocks that render it inacceſſible as far as Damietta, the road of which we croſſed, and bent our courſe towards Joppa, where the dock is hardly large enough to ſhelter a few ſmall veſſels. We anchored in the road, at near two leagues diſtance from the

the beach. The frigate took this ſtation on the coaſt of Syria, to enable me to go to Rames: I went to this town of Paleſtine on horſeback, where the Chriſtian Solicitor of the Holy Land came from Jeruſalem to have an interview with me. This Recollet Friar had with him, by way of eſcort, the four principal Arabs of the Mountain. Such was the influence of his money, that on receiving my meſſenger, he made theſe Princes, who had long been at variance, conclude a truce for the ſole purpoſe of coming more conveniently to ſee me.

The Governor of Jeruſalem, who had arranged this pacification, was deſirous that I ſhould avail myſelf of it, to wait upon him; but the more deſirous he appeared of giving me a good reception, the leſs was I tempted to pay the expences of ſuch a viſit; beſides that the importance of the Solicitor in the country appeared to me too well eſtabliſhed for me to add any thing to it, and the relics with which the Holy Directory gratified me, left me nothing more to wiſh for.

The country between the ſea and Jeruſalem is flat, and for about ſix leagues in

breadth very fertile. The Indian fig-tree*, of which the hedges are formed, ſerves as an inſurmountable barrier for the ſecurity of the fields. Their trade conſiſts in cotton, and their induſtry in ſpinning; and this part of the Holy Land is particularly curious from the veſtiges of the Cruſaders, with which it is covered.

Mahometaniſm, whilſt it deſtroys theſe monuments, ſtill retains the means of profiting by the pious enthuſiaſm that raiſed them. But the policy of the Turks in admitting the Greeks and the Latins to partake of the holy places, in order to benefit by their diviſions, reckoned more upon their pride, than upon their devotion. So ſubſtantial a revenue has ſurpaſſed their expectations; the quarrels between the adherents of the two rites are inexhauſtible; and, thanks to the gold of Spain! the government of Jeruſalem is looked upon as one of the moſt lucrative ſituations for oppreſſion. That which the Greeks had juſt experienced on my arrival at Rames, covered the Catholics

* This plant is alſo called in French, La Raquette.

Catholics with glory, and the cavalcade of their Solicitor was one of the conſequences of that triumph. He inſiſted on conducting me to Joppa, and I was really inchanted to ſee the uniform of the Recollets aſtride upon a beautiful Arabian horſe, richly harneſſed and capariſoned.

On approaching the coaſt, they ſhewed me the horrid pyramid erected by Mehemet-Bey. This monſter had formed it of *fifteen hundred heads* he had ordered to be cut off, after taking of this town.

Jaffa, or Joppa, forms a ſeparate government, and is the appendage of a Sultana, who farms out the cuſtom-houſe; but the depopulation of this town muſt neceſſarily have diminiſhed its commerce. It conſiſts at preſent only in linen and rice, which are ſent from Damietta, for the conſumption of Napoulouſe, Rames, and Jeruſalem, and the numerous hords of Arabs encamped on the plains of Gaza; in exchange for which, Damietta receives clumſy glaſs-ware, made at Ebrom, raw cotton, cummin, and particularly Joppa ſoap, which article, by an immemorial grant, pays only half duties in Egypt.

After viſiting the Solicitor, the Convent of his order, and adopting all the meaſures he thought neceſſary, this monk, who was not in Prieſt's orders, inſiſted on giving me the ſtrongeſt teſtimony of his reſpect, by beſtowing his benediction on me in the face of Iſrael; but in ſpite of this preſervative, the croud who followed us to the beach, were very near ſeeing me ſwallowed up by the breakers on the bar, which the ſailors were bold enough to attempt, and which they could hardly paſs with the utmoſt exertions of their ſkill.

On my return to the frigate, ſhe ſet ſail for St. John of Acra, where we anchored the next morning. Dgezar, Pacha of Seid, was then at that place; he ſent a very preſſing invitation to me on landing, to come and ſee him, but I was very far from having any ſuch intention. The cruelties for which he was celebrated, and the oppreſſions which made him feared, inſpired me only with the deſire of mortifying him. It was eaſy to diſcover, from the language of the officer he had ſent to pay his compliments to me, that my credit at the Porte was the chief

chief motive of his politeneſs, and I did not let ſlip this opportunity of reviving the uneaſineſs he had long been under, from the reſentment of the Grand Signior. I anſwered him, "that as we were both *travellers*, it was not worth while to become acquainted."—The officer did not imagine that this anſwer would prevent me from paying a viſit to his maſter, at his place of reſidence: but the Pacha felt all the bitterneſs of it; for the word *traveller*, the literal ſenſe of which could not apply to him in his government, was taken by him as I intended it, —in its figurative ſenſe of *death*, as applied by the Turks. He could not but feel, in fact, that had it not been for the weakneſs of the Porte, which no longer puniſhed any diſorder, he muſt long ſince have paid with his head, the horrible tyranny he had exerciſed. He carried it to ſuch a length, as even to take a pride in the reputation of cruelty, and this monſter aſſumed the name of Dgezar, *Butcher*, in which he gloried; and it was a title he richly merited, by immuring alive a number of perſons of the Greek communion, when he rebuilt the walls

of Baruth, to defend it from the invaſion of the Ruſſians. The heads of theſe unfortunate victims are ſtill to be ſeen, which the *Butcher* had left expoſed, the better to enjoy their torments. It was on ſuch ferocious principles as theſe that Dgezar regulated all his conduct. His own ſecurity obliging him to keep in pay a ſet of banditti, he had fitted out a little fleet compoſed of them, with which he harraſſed the coaſt, whilſt a body of horſe, of the ſame character, attended at his landing. Dgezar Pacha, thus ſituated at Acra, finding that he could obtain nothing from me, was deſirous, at leaſt, of being ſaluted by the frigate; but this man, as ignorant as he was haughty, thought he had only to ſhow himſelf on the beach, with a brilliant cavalcade, to receive a mark of reſpect, to which he could only have any pretenſion by embarking on the water. He had no doubt, therefore, that the ſilence of the frigate was owing to the diſtant manner in which I had treated him. To revenge this ſuppoſed affront, he ſent orders to Seid not to ſalute the frigate on her arrival, taking care, at the

ſame

ſame time, to let me know the diſpoſition he had made; but this inſignificant mark of his reſentment, had no better effect than his firſt advances. I ſent him for anſwer, "that I thanked him for having apprized me of his intentions, it being mine alſo to ſuppreſs thoſe preſents which an abuſive cuſtom had eſtabliſhed."

The town of Acra is ſituated in a tolerably ſpacious bay, and protected from the ſoutherly winds by Mount Carmel †. The principal walls of the church, built by the Knights Hoſpitalers, are ſtill to be ſeen here, which they dedicated to St. John; and this name, joined to that of the town, has made it known under the name of St. John of Acra. Commercial ſpeculations could not have been begun in this place, until a long time after the retreat of the Cruſaders. Theſe enthu-

 ſiaſts

† The religous of the Catholic perſuaſion, who ſerve the Grotto of the Prophet Elias, keep an inn for the pilgrims who viſit it, and diſtribute, inſtead of relics, of which they have none, Geodes, (a ſort of chryſtallization, larger than an apple, and hollow in the middle) of every ſhape, which the country abounds with, and which they paſs for petrified fruits.

ſiaſts were no greater favourers of commerce than the Turks, who to govern, have always been the plunderers of Syria. It was only, therefore, under the quiet and beneficent reign of Cheik-Taher, that the plentiful crops multiplied our eſtabliſhments, and it is ſince the tragical end of that Prince, that commerce has begun to decline. The trade here conſiſts principally in cotton, which was of a ſuperior quality before the planter gave the grain to be ſeparated by others, which was executed ſo much better by himſelf.

I ſet out from Acra for Seid, the reſidence of the King's Conſul General. This town is, in ſome degree, the head quarters of our commerce in Syria. We anchored there along-ſide of a ſhip of war belonging to the Grand Signior, the Captain of which did not ſeem inclined to ſhow us much politeneſs. I have already mentioned, that the fortreſs was forbid ſaluting us by order of the Pacha; but the Dgezar had not foreſeen, that during my reſidence at Conſtantinople, I ſhould have happened to ſuperintend the conſtruction of the very Turkiſh caravel

ravel which was in the harbour of Seid; that I had caſt all its artillery; and that the Captain himſelf ſhould have been indebted to me for his promotion. This was the firſt veſſel of the Grand Signior, too, which diſplayed the green flag I had prevailed on the Porte to adopt. The Captain no ſooner heard that I was on board the frigate, than he ſent to pay me his compliments; and I thought it was neceſſary to make him feel, that the independent conduct of the Pacha of Seid, ſhould have induced him to ſhow more reſpect to the King's flag, as that of the Grand Signior was leſs reſpected in Syria than elſewhere; he anſwered this repreſentation accordingly with nine guns, which we returned him. He came afterwards to the Conſul's to ſee me, to apologize for his negligence, and to invite me on board his ſhip, where I was ſaluted on entering, and on quitting it. This cannonade became a freſh ſubject of vexation for the Pacha, whom the Turkiſh Captain did not treat with much reſpect. To avoid, therefore, ſome new affront, Dgezar determined not to enter the harbour before night; but Mr. le

Baron

Baron de Durfort ſaluted his little fleet at ſunriſe; and this unexpected mark of attention perſuaded him that I ſhould treat him better at Sein than at Acra. He again invited me to come and ſee him; but although I underſtood that he intended me a diſtinguiſhed reception, I continued unſhaken in my firſt reſolution, well convinced that I acquired more real honour in ſhowing my deteſtation to this monſter, than in receiving ſome frivolous mark of diſtinction from him.

It is to accompliſh my object in writing theſe Memoirs, that I have thought it neceſſary to deſcribe the character of Dgezar, and my conduct reſpecting him. This lion, let looſe againſt humanity, who tyrannized over the province, and kept back two years tribute from the Grand Signior with impunity, humbled by a foreigner, and reſtrained in his reſentment by a ſingle frigate, of whoſe orders he was ignorant, by painting the weakneſs of the deſpot, and the cowardice of his ſubordinate officers, who awe him at a diſtance, gives, at one ſtroke

of

of the pencil, the picture of the Ottoman empire.

The town of Seid, the ancient *Sidon*, is situated in the middle of the coast of Syria, at the foot of Lebanon, and Anti-Lebanon. The Mutualis inhabit the southern, and the Druses the northern part of that chain of mountains which extend along the coast, and preserve their independence in spite of the various attempts made by the Porte to bring them into more immediate subjection. It is true that the Druses are not always exact in paying the tribute agreed upon. The Pacha of Seid is even obliged, for the safety of his own domains, to farm them out to the powers of the mountain; but this method of avoiding their ravages, does not always secure the receipt of his revenues; and these compulsory farmings are productive of quarrels, wherein the nature of the dispute is frequently changed by incidental circumstances. The Mutualis, who inhabit Anti-Lebanon, from Seid to Acra, are less numerous than the Druses; but the castles they dwell in, render them as ready for an insurrection, and as difficult

to

to reduce. The ſummit of every hill ſerves them as a fortreſs. Each proprietor of land is a great vaſſal; and this people, who are fanatics in the precepts of Ali, have a particular abhorrence for the Sunnite Mahometans, whom they maſſacre without pity whenever they can find the opportunity. The Mutualis have agreed to pay an annual tribute of two hundred purſes for the free enjoyment of their mountains, and their ſeignories; but they are more ſcrupulous in enjoying thoſe advantages, than in obſerving the conditions annexed to their enjoyment; ſo that the Druſes, as well as the Mutualis, equally difficult of reſtraint, by contracting the authority of the Pacha within too narrow limits, have rendered it more heavy for the inhabitants of Seid.—Between this town and Acra, is to be ſeen the town of Sour, the celebrated Tyre, which is in ſubjection to a chief of the Mutualis; and this cradle of navigation ſtill poſſeſſes the beſt harbour of Syria: but a few cargoes of tobacco, or of corn, belonging to the merchants of Seid, are the only objects of commerce of this famous city, excepting the

article

article of thread, which is brought to market by the country people, and which the French have the excluſive privilege of purchaſing §.

If our merchants themſelves have not been exempt from the oppreſſions of the the Pacha, it is only becauſe they have not hitherto ſhewn firmneſs enough to awe him, for this Governor knows well the danger to which the fury of the people would expoſe him, if by his miſconduct he compelled our merchants to withdraw themſelves.

On quitting Seid, the frigate continued to run along the coaſt, and come to anchor

§ This circumſtance paints the Turkiſh government, which neither knows how to grant, or how to withhold judiciouſly. One of the French merchants ſettled at Seid, preſides over the public market; the Janiſſaries attached to the ſervice of that nation, have the care of the police; our brokers fix the price of the thread,- the people of the country are not allowed to buy it,—and, conſequently, much leſs ſtrangers,—no monopoly can be more manifeſt; but it is ſo well eſtabliſhed in the minds of the people, that they would themſelves revolt againſt the government, were it diſpoſed to put a ſtop to it; and the ſpinſters prefer the certainty of a quick ſale to the uncertain profits of a higher price, for which they might be obliged to wait.

anchor within ſome ſhallows at the bottom of the road of Baruth. This town is built on a tongue of land that advances in the form of a peninſula, the platform of which is ornamented with a wood of pine trees, planted in rows. The beauty and variety of the gardens around the town, and the purity of the air, had drawn together a great number of inhabitants; and during the whole period that the Porte had transferred the Lordſhip of Baruth to the Emir of the Druſes, who inhabit the neighbouring mountains, the mildneſs of the government, and above all the ſpirit of toleration, which placed the Druſe, the Mahometan, and the Chriſtian, on the ſame footing, induced a great number of merchants to ſettle there; but ſince Dgezar has taken poſſeſſion of this town, to deſtroy its commerce, and force it to concentre itſelf in Seid, the merchants of Baruth have abandoned it, and retired into the mountains, there to wait for the deſtruction of the tyrant. His object was to increaſe the income of the Cuſtom-houſe at Seid, which is always formed by the Pacha; but his ignorance could not diſcover that

ſpeculations

ſpeculations of revenue, when they ſtrike at induſtry, cannot, for that reaſon, ever be calculated on any principles of commerce.

The mountains of Caſtervan extend along the ſea coaſt from Baruth, ſix leagues to the northward; they are under thoſe of Lebanon, and form their baſe. They are peopled by Catholics, who live in perfect harmony with the Druſes, their neighbours, of whom I ſhall ſoon ſpeak more particularly.

Tripoli, in Syria, which was the next place we went to, after quitting Baruth, is ſituated at a ſmall diſtance from the road for the ſhipping, and the number of gardens which ſurround it, would make it a delightful abode, was not the air ſo unhealthy in ſummer. Its territory which extends and riſes up to Mount Lebanon ‡, abounds in vineyards. Every little eminence produces wine of a different

‡ It is in that part of the mountains adjoining Tripoli, that we may ſtill ſee the ſo much boaſted cedars of Lebanon. I was aſſured that their antiquity was the moſt remarkable circumſtance about them, and I diſpenſed with going to do homage to them.

rent quality, and the golden wine, *(le vin d'Or)* is diſtinguiſhed above every other.

The abundance of ſilk, which is cultivated throughout Lebanon, and is collected by the merchants at Tripoli, is the principal object of commercial ſpeculations. The annual exports of this article for France, amount to ſeven or eight thouſand quintals, the greateſt part of which is expedited from the other ports, which have no returns, and the bills ſent for that purpoſe from Conſtantinople, are always negociated with the Pacha. The Pacha who commanded there was the ſon of the Pacha of Damaſcus. I ſtood in need of his aſſiſtance to furniſh me with the means of travelling by land to Aleppo, and as he was not then at Tripoli, I was glad to hear that I ſhould find him at Lattaquey; but the frigate not been able to anchor in the port, from the negligence of the Turks, who have ſuffered the harbour to be choaked up with the ballaſt thrown out by the ſhips, ſhe brought to, and remained there till the return of the boat which carried me to the harbour of Lattaquey.

taquey. Its entrance is defended by a caſtle, in ſo ruinous a ſtate, that had I not heard the artillery that ſaluted me, I ſhould have paſſed without perceiving any fortification. The Chief Officer of the Cuſtoms received me on my landing, with all the reſpect due to my miſſion, and the ſtile of his civilities gave me a favourable opinion of his maſter *.

After repoſing ſome time in a kioſk, where they brought me ſome refreſh-ments,

* The manner in which the diſpoſition of the maſter influences all his dependants, is one of the moſt remarkable circumſtances in the manners of the Turks; it ſeems as if deſpotiſm would be imperfect, without ſubjugating the very ſentiments. The attendants of a Turk are on the watch to obſerve the manner in which any perſon is received by their patrons, to treat him in the ſame manner on his departure; unlucky he, who ſhall have received a kick from him! They take the liberty likewiſe to conſtrue his intentions. A Pacha had taken a great friendſhip for an European merchant,—he could never be without him; and all his court gave entertainments to the ſtranger. The latter was ſubject to the gout, and the Pacha who had unfortunately ſtudied a little medicine, had a mind to cure his friend; and when he knew, that he was in the moſt excruciating pain, he made two of his ſervants go, with orders to give him fifty ſtrokes

ments, I went to Lattaquey. This town, the ancient *Laodicea*, is built on a platform which overlooks the harbour. It ſtill exhibits ſome veſtiges of its ancient ſplendour, and its trade maintains, at this day, many handſome houſes. It was not long before the Pacha of Tripoli ſent to compliment me on my arrival, with aſſurances of his deſire to ſee me, and render me any ſervice. This diſpoſition was very favourable for my intended journey to Aleppo, and I obtained from this Pacha more aſſiſtance than was

ſtrokes of a ſtick on the ſoles of his feet. Theſe fellows who were not ſo learned as their maſter, aſtoniſhed at firſt, at a remedy that did not ſeem to be of a very friendly nature, were at length perſuaded that the infidel had given offence, and executed their orders accordingly, with the utmoſt rigour, of which they did not fail to boaſt on their return to the Pacha. "How wretches," ſaid he, "you have dared to treat my friend ill? The fifty ſtokes I ordered were a remedy,—the inſults you have added, are an offence,"—and he immediately ordered each of them one hundred; from thence he went to beg pardon of his friend for the inſolence of his ſervants who had preſumed to make an addition to the remedy. The European would readily have diſpenſed with this remedy, but he ſoon had reaſon to commend it, and was perfectly cured of the diſorder.

was neceſſary; he inſiſted even on adding every honour, and ſeemed to fear a cenſure from the Porte, if, by neglecting to procure me reſpect, I ſhould happen to be expoſed to any inſults in the mountains I had to croſs. On my return from this viſit, his firſt Equerry brought me a horſe, ſent by his maſter, aſſuring me at the ſame time, that he could, from experience, anſwer for his being ſure-footed amongſt the ſteepeſt rocks.

As I had procured at Tripoli, in Syria, tents and other neceſſaries, every thing was ſoon prepared for my departure. We ſet out with the guards ſent by the Pacha to eſcort me, and pitched our firſt encampment on the banks of a river at the foot of Mount Lebanon. I had ſcarcely diſmounted, before a Druſe of the Mountain, preſented me a complaint againſt a French merchant, his debtor, againſt whom I had already received ſeveral of a ſimilar nature. Whilſt the neceſſary orders were expediting for the verification, and payment of the debt, I was glad of the opportunity of converſing with a man who had ſtruck me by the noble manlineſs with which he had come

come to demand juſtice; and this interval gave me time to get a few particulars from him reſpecting the manners and cuſtoms of the Druſes, which I ſhall ſubjoin with ſome further ideas on the ſubject.

This people, compriſed under the ſame denomination, are divided into different ſects, who mutually deteſt each other; but who, nevertheleſs, invariably unite in defence of their common liberty, and by an uniform prejudice againſt the Mahometans. This diſpoſition, however, they manifeſt leſs than any other. When their affairs call them into the Turkiſh towns, they frequent the Moſques, but prefer our churches, when they can go to them without danger; yet do they appear as far removed from the dogmas of the Goſpel, as from the precepts of the Coran. It is evident, from what can be collected, that the greateſt part of the Druſes are ſectaries of *Haken-Bamr-Illah* *, Caliph of Egypt, of the family of the Phatimites. Theſe mountaineers, in deifying him, have called him Hakem-

* An Arabian word ſignifying, "ruling by the order of God."

kem-Bamri †, and have only preſerved the name of his Apoſtle, *Dourſi*. This etymology, taken from their ſacred books, is ſufficient to overturn that which Mr. Pujet de Saint Pierre has given. He makes the Druſes deſcendants of the *Comte de Dreux*, an origin too abſurd to merit a ſerious diſcuſſion. The Caliph Hakem, and his Apoſtle, ſeem to have refined upon the contempt which ſectaries of all ages and countries have ſhewn for humanity; they have divided their followers into three claſſes; the prieſts, the elect or initiated, and the people. This latter claſs, who are ſcarcely acquainted with a few ſocial principles, without which mankind cannot ſleep in ſecurity, is obliged to repoſe its hopes of ſalvation on the credit of the two former. It is on this feeble ſupport, however, that the Druſes believe in the elect of God, and contemn every contrary opinion. Hakem has promiſed them that they ſhall be the heirs of the Turks, who are to be deſtroyed by the Chriſtians. They muſt have imagined, no doubt, that this prophecy was on the point of being accompliſhed during the laſt

† Ruler of his order.

laſt war with the Ruſſians; and this opinion has always made them give a decided preference to the Chriſtians; but it is probable that their Prophet has but ill-calculated the order of ſucceſſion.

By the hierarchy eſtabliſhed in this ſect, all their religious rites are impenetrable to the eyes of the profane; even their books * are carefully preſerved; that of the prieſts in particular, (called *The Per Excellentiam Book*;) it appears impoſſible to procure a ſight of it. It is pretty generally believed, however, that the Druſes worſhip a ſort of idol, which they preſerve under ground, where the elect only are allowed to enter.

Some women of the Druſes, converted to the Chriſtian faith, have unvailed, too, other ceremonies, not leſs abſurd; but as they were not in the ſecret, their accuſation is not a ſufficient title for that accuracy I wiſh to obſerve.

Druſes of different ſects inhabit that part of the mountains I paſſed over; the Turks call them Nuſeris, or Anſeris; but this people reject both theſe appellations, and

* The Druſes are forbid to eat with any perſon in power, for fear of partaking of ill gotten wealth.

and preſerve that of the Druſes, without pretending to the glory of impenetrable myſteries. One ſees the greateſt part of them, in fact, pay particular adoration to the ſun; they bend the knee three times before him, on his riſing, and ſeem to endeavour to ſeize with their hands the firſt rays of that luminary, to purify themſelves, by rubbing their bodies with them. Their worſhip is ſuppoſed to laſt only 'till the evening; and I was aſſured, that they indemnify themſelves during the night, for their continence in the day. Another ſect is ſaid to worſhip the moon, and to reſerve their pleaſures for the day.

We find alſo in theſe mountains ſome *Gynecolaters* *, whoſe worſhip, although leſs myſterious than that which the Chineſe offer to *Lingam*, ſeems to be found-

* Gynecolaters:—This word ſignifies 'Adorer of Women;' but in the acceptation of the term, in what is called 'good company,' it cannot be applicable to the Druſes.—The Author has formed this Greek word out of reſpect to the Ladies.

M. Baron de Tott informed the Tranſlator, that this worſhip of the female is only partial; the worſhipper is on his knees before the altar; and his eyes are fixed on the object of his devotion, for which he is not obliged to look—oculis ereſtis.

ed upon the ſame principle. The Druſes who are worſhippers of the ſun, appear to have more reſemblance with the ancient inhabitants of Palmyra. It is at a ſmall diſtance from that city, and, ſo ſpeaking, in ſight of the ruins of that famous Temple of the Sun, that we ſtill find the worſhippers of that body. Lebanon receives his firſt rays; it is there that his adoration would naturally take refuge, and be preſerved.

We were two days in paſſing theſe mountains, of which there are three diſtinct chains, and two lateral ones form, in ſome degree, the baſe which ſupports that of the centre. This conſtruction of the mountains, alternately preſents the horror of the moſt profound abyſſes, the moſt dangerous defiles, the moſt picturesque ſituations, and the moſt delightful vallies. One ſees, on every ſide, plantations of mulberry-trees kept in the greateſt order. Theſe trees, whoſe leaves give food for the ſilk-worms, are planted in quincunxes, with a perfect regularity, which renders this refinement more remarkable, from its inutility; and as it is only amongſt the Druſes that this manner

manner of planting is known throughout the Levant. Their villages appeared to be tolerably well built; they are always built under ſteep rocks, which ſhelter them; and the ſummits of the mountains, crowned with pine-trees, form the moſt intereſting landſcapes.

We arrived, after three days painful march, at the little town of Tchoukour, on the banks of the Orontes. The pilgrims from Conſtantinople and from Aſia, who were joined together in their way to Damaſcus, the general rendezvous of the caravan for Mecca, had arrived before us at Tchoukour, and we found them encamped on the borders of that river. I eſtabliſhed my camp at a little diſtance; and their chief, (for every ſociety chooſes a maſter, or ſomething reſembling it,) ſent me a preſent of fruits, with his compliments on my arrival. But notwithſtanding this politeneſs, the commander of the town thought that the neighbourhood of ſo numerous a troop, who were to ſet off the next day, and every individual of which thought himſelf ſure of abſolution, left ſome doubts of my ſecurity. He rein-

forced my eſcort therefore, with a body of infantry, diſpoſed in a line of circumvallation; but I knew the Turks well enough to have a better opinion of the Pilgrims, and too little of my new guard not to be afraid of them. I eſcaped, however, with a ſcattering fire, that laſted the whole night, and which they aſſured me was the only method of keeping off the robbers; but it was the way alſo of killing honeſt people, if any ſuch had happened to paſs near my quarters; and I was, after all, forced to pay the poltroons for keeping me awake.

Rhia, where we ſlept the next night, is ſituated at the entrance of the plains of Syria. Some ruins are to be ſeen here which point out no determinate objects, but bear the marks of the moſt remote antiquity. The country around this ſmall town is moſt richly cultivated, and continues ſo as far as Aleppo. It took us two days and a half to croſs this plain, the plowing of which is very remarkable; each furrow ſeems to be traced out by a line, and is without the ſmalleſt bend for the length of a quarter of a league.

Corn,

Corn, cotton, and a kind of grain which the inhabitants make oil of, are produced on this ſoil. This induſtry ſeems to throw a veil over the devaſtations this plain has undergone, but it is ſufficiently teſtified by ſeveral fragments of antiquity. I ſaw near a fountain, a ſort of baſon of white marble, in one block, of ſeven feet long, by three in height, and four wide, ornamented with garlands, and the ſlaughtering of rams, in the fineſt taſte, and carved with the pureſt chiſel; it was made uſe of as a watering trough; and as we cannot ſuppoſe it to have been tranſported either from Balbec, or Palmyra, it plainly indicates the former exiſtence of ſome town which was nearer, and is more completely deſtroyed than either of them.

I was ſtill threatened with a public entry, which determined me to halt at Kantouman, an uſual place of repoſe for travellers, built at three leagues from Aleppo, on the edge of the deſart which ſurrounds that city. I arrived there at night, after paſſing the wildeſt country, and breathing an air abſolutely phoſphoric.

The precautions I had taken to avoid the pomp they had prepared for me, only ſerved to render it melancholy, for the flambeaux with which they waited for me at the gate of the town, to conduct me to the Conſul's, gave our entry the air of a funeral proceſſion.

The town of Aleppo, celebrated for the number of its inhabitants*, the beauty of its buildings, its extenſive commerce, and the riches that flow from it, is ſituated in a hollow, and on a ſmall river; but this water which ſupplies the inhabitants of Aleppo, appears as foreign from the ſoil it runs through, as the town itſelf is from the deſart in which it is placed, and it is only from the devaſtation of the ſurrounding country that one can find the ſolution of this political problem; but the cauſes of its preſervation, increaſe, and opulence, are eaſily to be diſcovered in the neceſſity there was for an emporium between the Mediter-

* They reckon 150,000 ſouls at Aleppo, the greateſt number of whom are Mahometans. Some Jews, and a great many Armenians, compoſe the remainder of the population: the Franks, who are drawn there by commerce, are too few in number to merit the being included in the calculation.

diterranean and the Perſian Gulph. Its ſituation muſt alſo have been determined by the advantageous circumſtance of a running water, which is ſo ſcarce in theſe plains, that this river, whoſe ſource is not remote, loſes itſelf a few leagues below the town, and ſeems only to ſhow itſelf in this parched country, for the purpoſe of fixing men in the little valley that it waters.

Aleppo is ſurrounded by gardens, or rather by ſmall plantations of Piſtachio trees, whoſe leaves of a delicate green, and the fruit of a roſe colour, form the moſt charming coup d'œil, whilſt this production itſelf conſtitutes a branch of commerce of a ſure and profitable ſale.

This town is defended from the depredations of the Arabs who ſurround it, by a pretty ſtrong caſtle; and this fortreſs, placed in the centre of the circular ſpace occupied by the town, is built on a butt, or hillock, which appears to have been formed by the hand of man, and it ſeems as if it had been ſurrounded by ſome courſes of ſtone. The fort, which is built on the ancient military principles, contains at preſent ſome

pieces of artillery, which might graze the tops of all the adjoining hills without endangering the houſes;—all the latter have terraces on the top of them, and are ſo equal in height, that one has very ſeldom any ſteps to mount, or to deſcend, it going from one houſe to another; and ſeveral large vaulted ſtreets add to the facility of communication, by enabling the paſſenger to go from one quarter to another, without the trouble of paſſing through the ſtreets. Thoſe of Aleppo are elegantly paved,—the footways are formed by large regular flag ſtones, and the centre of the ſtreet is made of brick, placed edgeways for the convenience of the horſes. There is an attention to cleanlineſs in Aleppo too, unknown in the other towns in Turkey, nay even in the capital. This object of police does not occaſion the incumbrances of our carts; it is executed by aſs-drivers, who go through the town, and collect the filth from the ſweepers, whom each individual is obliged to employ. If the heat of the climate renders this work not ſo difficult, the ſame heat makes it neceſſary to pay a greater attention

tention to cleanlineſs, to preſerve the ſalubrity of the air, particularly under the vaulted ſtreets I have been ſpeaking of, which are principally deſtined for the ſhop-keepers. They contain the moſt valuable effects: it is there that active and paſſive commerce diſplays its activity; but the protection of the different caravans, as well as the private eſcorts for travellers, furniſh the Pacha and his officers with the certain means of extorting from trade and from individuals. In every other reſpect, the people enjoy more tranquillity at Aleppo, than in the other towns, and the Europeans have never ſuffered any oppreſſion capable of diſcouraging their ſpeculations. We may judge alſo from the induſtry of the people of Aleppo, that deſpotiſm treats it with indulgence. They even venture to enter into competition with the Indies. I have viſited with attention their manufactures of the ſtuffs we call herbages*, the entry of which is

* Herbages are a ſort of ſilk and cotton ſtuff, with wrought flowers on it, much worn by the ladies in Province, and the ſouthern parts of France, into which they are ſmuggled.

prohibited into France, although our imitation of them can by no means juſtify the prohibition, for our manner of ſpinning, and thoſe ſhackles which hinder us from bringing that art to perfection, will never allow us to imitate them. Leſs depends, in fact, on the art of the manufacturer, whoſe work is preciſely the ſame as in all brocaded ſtuffs, than on the ſkill of the ſpinſter, which we muſt ſtudy, if we wiſh to imitate them with ſucceſs. It is their art that gives ſuch excellence to the ſilk of Lebanon, and enables it to ſurpaſs the origin of Italy. It is with Aleppo cotton, with which we can ſcarcely make our bourres of Rouen §, that the ſpinſters of Syria compoſe the web of the herbages; but the ſpindle requires patience, and patience can accompliſh every thing *.

When

§ The bourres of Rouen, are of cotton, brocaded with ſilk, in imitation of the ſtuffs of the Levant.

* This manner of ſpinning can never ſuit the manufacturers, undoubtedly, who pay regular wages to ſpinſters. The aſſembling of individuals in manufactures, is ſtill leſs adapted to the views of a wife

When I arrived at Aleppo, Iſed-Achmet-Pacha, the Governor of that town, had juſt been removed, and ordered to repair the Temple of Mecca; a change regretted by the inhabitants, and which converted a good Miniſter into a bad architect. He ſet out for his place of deſtination, the day of my departure for Alexandretta, where I was to reimbark. The new Governor gave me an eſcort of a hundred horſe, to which he added an Alay-Tchaouché, and a beater of the tymbal. Beſides this mark of diſtinction, peculiar only to the Pachas, he gave me two led horſes; and I accepted this civility the more readily, as it proved that the ſuppreſſion of the uſual preſents, which I had declared, and in which I was followed by the Conſuls of the other nations, was not likely to

a wiſe adminiſtration, whoſe firſt care ſhould always be to preſerve health and good morals. A method was propoſed to government of multiplying and bringing ſpinning to perfection, without removing the inhabitants, which would eventually have put an end to begging. The liberty of acting was all that was demanded;—"But good is not only to be done at the ſpindle; it requires patience to bring it about."

to have such injurious consequences for the Europeans, as I was made to believe. This suppression had deprived Ised-Achmet-Pacha of the customary present on his departure. I was to encamp near him at Kanthouman, and I took it for granted that he would dispense with every act of politeness towards me, which, in fact, would have given me but little pain, although, in other respects, I had a personal esteem for him; my tents, however, were hardly pitched, by the side of his, before he sent to compliment me, with a request to compensate to him by my company, for not having seen me at Aleppo. I went immediately to his tent, where, contrary to all the established forms, he rose up to receive me. I remained two hours in conversation with him, during which I discovered more good sense and knowledge in him, than was necessary to account for this sort of exile into which he was sent by the Porte. After communicating this observation to him, we separated to go to rest, and to take our different routes the next day.

Our

Our little troop lay the day following at Martavan. The ſingularity of the manners of the inhabitants of this village is ſo ſtriking, that I cannot help extending that celebrity which Martavan enjoys in Syria. I was aſſured that the adjoining village is governed by the ſame principles, but being deprived of the advantage of laying on the high-road, its name is ſcarcely known. Theſe two villages belong to a rich proprietor of Aleppo, who receives the quit-rents of them, and enjoys, at the ſame time, the privilege of naming the firſt municipal officer of the community. At Martavan, there is not the ſmalleſt indication of any ſort of religion. The men ſeem to be taken up entirely with agriculture; and the women, who in general are pretty, appear to have no other occupation than to *receive travellers*. The day when any traveller arrives, is alſo a feſtival with them, as well as for the *Peſeving-Bachi*, whoſe authority is ſimilar to that of Bailiff of the Manor, but *whoſe functions are of a more conciliatory nature*, and *whoſe name*, and *employment*, *cannot be tranſlated*. His office is to take the orders of the new comers,

comers, *to ſupply every one according to his taſte*, and to ſettle the produce of his receipts with the community. I was aſſured that this perquiſite had been ſold, together with the title which authorizes its collection, for ten purſes*. It would be difficult to trace the origin of a ſociety founded on ſuch extraordinary principles; and it is in the midſt of a country famed for the moſt rigid laws of jealouſy, that Martavan preſerves a *legal* licentiouſneſs, ſo reduced to principle, that it appears, in fact, to be the only exiſting prejudice of this little ſociety. The head dreſs of the women of Martavan is peculiar to them; it is a ſort of helmet of chaſed ſilver, ornamented with pieces of gold, ſtrung on a thread. This cap reſembles that of the Cauchois women. The officiouſneſs of the Bailiff of Martavan was not ſo ſucceſsfully employed in collecting my eſcort, as they had been in diſtributing them properly the preceding night, and we did not get away ſo ſoon as I intended. This day's journey brought us no further than a village, near which we

* A Turkiſh purſe is 1500 livres, or about 72l. 10s. ſterling.

we incamped, at the entrance of the mountains, and from whence we ſet out before day-break, to ford a ſmall river, in order to avoid the iron-bridge, which we were informed the *Turkmen* had got poſſeſſion of.

This people, who in the winter inhabit the centre of Aſia, and who ſtretch even into Syria in the ſummer, to feed their flocks, with their arms and baggage, are thought to be wandering tribes, but are, in fact, no more ſo than the Spaniſh ſhepherds, who follow their ſheep during eight months of the year, throughout all the mountains of Andaluſia; with this difference, that they are collected in more numerous bodies, that they may drive off any perſons who may chuſe to diſpute with them their paſturage. They never begin any attack, nor do they ever go to war without provocation; but my eſcort was afraid of their reſentment: the troops of Aleppo had lately had a ſkirmiſh with them, in which a few Turkmen, who had imprudently ſeparated from the main-body, had been roughly treated by the Pacha's cavalry. It was to avoid them, therefore, that the detachment which

which accompanied me, made me go along the mountains as far as Antioch, where we incamped on the banks of the Orontes, after croſſing the ruins of that celebrated city. Its ancient incloſure is ſtill to be ſeen, in the form of a parallelogram, which reſts on the declivity of a very ſteep hill, and riſes up to the very ſummit, which ſecured it from being taken from behind. The maſonry of its walls, which run along the Orontes, is perfectly freſh, and is in the moſt perfect preſervation: one ſees towers on every part of them, the ſole means of defence in thoſe remote periods, built with the greateſt elegance. The declivity of the hill exhibits alſo the ruins of the houſes. My eſcort, always thinking of the Turkmen, and always prudent, made me continue along the mountains beyond Antioch, to get round the lake of that name, and which was at length to ſeparate us from theſe formidable enemies. We were travelling on very quietly, and our brave horſemen were making their evolutions round us, when I ſaw them ſuddenly fall back upon me. The commandant of the troop then made me remark

mark the tents of the Turkmen, pitched on the borders of the lake along which we were to paſs: he appeared uncertain what part to take; but I did not heſitate about the matter; I muſt continue my journey, and I at length perſuaded my eſcort not to have any apprehenſions with me, provided they made no ridiculous parade to inſult the Turkmen. I was very certain, in giving this advice, my guards were well diſpoſed to follow it, and it required exertion enough to make this troop ſhew a good countenance before ſix or ſeven thouſand Aſiatics, whoſe pacific diſpoſitions were at leaſt doubtful.

I took the precaution to cover my eſcort with my little troop of Europeans; and we were marching in this order, which had nothing hoſtile in it, when we perceived a movement in the enemy's camp, from whence there ſallied forth ſome men from different parts to meet us, and I ſoon had the muſic of the various hords at my horſe's head. The Turkmen, muſicians, preceded me dancing and playing, during the whole time of our paſſing along their camp. I then took

took my leave of them, after making them the preſent they had come in ſearch of, with which theſe gentlemen were undoubtedly very good to be contented.

We ſlept the ſame night at Mahamout-Kan, a ſort of caſtle at the entrance of the paſſes of the Beilan*. The mountains we croſſed the next day are inhabited by the Curdes. The Turkiſh government has eſtabliſhed here, for the ſecurity of commerce and travellers, ſome guards who, to render themſelves more neceſſary, take care to pillage thoſe who refuſe to employ them; but the manner in which I travelled, giving them no hopes of executing any thing by force, theſe guards determined to get ſomething from me by their attention. I found a troop of them ſtationed in the height of the mountains, who were very anxious on my approach, to get me into their poſſeſſion, without regard to the detachment of cavalry which had hitherto guarded me ſo well; but I informed the commander of this infantry, ſo poſitively,

* A continuation of Mount Lebanon.—Theſe mountains, inhabited by the Curdes, join the mountains of Caramania.

ſitively, that with thirty Europeans, I was more able to help him, than he to defend me, that he gave up his claim upon me. I could not, however, refuſe him the permiſſion he aſked, with great humility, of accompanying me, at leaſt for ſome time; beſides, I was not ſorry to have an inhabitant of the country with me capable of anſwering ſuch queſtions as I might wiſh to put to him during my journey; and this man, followed only by two of his ſoldiers, went on foot by the ſide of my horſe.

He informed me, that his countrymen, the Curdes, very often revolted, and never were obedient; that the prevailing ſpirit of rapine rendered his duty very laborious, and that I ought to recommend the French, whom he preferred to every other race of infidels, always to apply to him, and pay him well. On my ſide, I endeavoured to perſuade him that he would be hanged, if any accident happened to our merchants, and we finiſhed without convincing each other. Whilſt we were thus converſing together, I perceived at a ſmall diſtance a horrible peak, which appeared to me to be the haunt

haunt of wild beaſts. "Have you," ſays I, "any tygers hereabouts?"—"Tygers:" ſays he, lowering his voice; "Do you want to ſee any? Get off your horſe; I'll ſhow you ſome at thirty paces from you." A game-keeper, who had found a covey of partridges, would not have expreſſed himſelf with more earneſtneſs to engage the attention of the ſportſman; but it may be ſuppoſed that this ſort of amuſement did not tempt me, and I diſmiſſed him with a few crowns for the trouble he had taken.

This days journey, which was employed in croſſing defiles, and in climbing over rocks, brought us to the village of Beylan, three leagues from the ſea, and we encamped in the confined ſpace between the village, and the precipice on which it is ſituated. We were in ſight of the road where the frigate was waiting for me, and had even ſufficient day-light to have got to Alexandretta, ſituated on the beach; but the air of that town is ſo peſtiferous that I was adviſed not to ſleep there. The Beylan is, on that account, the refuge of the factors who do buſineſs at Alexandretta; but notwithſtanding the

the care they take to ſtay there as little as poſſible, and to retire to the Mountains of the Beylan, to breathe a more ſalubrious air, theſe unfortunate men ſeldom reſiſt for any length of time the bad effects of this nephytic air. The marſhes that extend along the coaſt are undoubtedly the immediate cauſes of their ill health, but the cauſes of the noxious quality of theſe vapours are more remote. The height of the mountains that ſurround Alexandretta, too lofty to allow a free paſſage to theſe vapours, by collecting and condenſing them under a burning ſky, are the original cauſes of the corruption of the air at Alexandretta. I have never obſerved an unwholeſome air, without diſcovering the cauſe of it, in ſome topographical ſituation exactly ſimilar ‡.

Alexandretta was the concluſion of our daily encampments, of which I began to be heartily tired; we arrived there time enough to finiſh all my buſineſs before night, and after ſatisfying the avidity of the

‡ The vapours ariſing from the rice fields of Egypt meeting with no obſtacle to retain them, they fly off freely, and are for that reaſon free from corruption.

the perſons who had accompanied me, I went on board the Atalanta in the evening, and the wind being favourable, we weighed anchor immediately, and had time enough to take the height of Cape St. Andrew.

It is to the ſouthward of this land, and on the eaſtermoſt point towards the Iſle of Cyprus, to which we were bound, that the town of Famaguſta is ſituated, celebrated for its defence againſt the Turks, when they took it from the Venetians, and for their treachery towards the Governor after the ſurrender of the town.

We were the next morning off Cape *de la Grecque*, and anchored before noon in the road of Arnaca, where the French merchants, and the King's conſul at Cyprus are ſettled; this town which from its convenient ſituation for trade is preferred to Nicoſia †, is at a quarter of a league's diſtance from the dock. The houſes of the different conſuls, thoſe of the merchants, and the comforts always enjoyed where commerce flouriſhes, give this place altogether a very agreeable appearance.

The

† The Capital of the Iſle of Cyprus.

The Iſle of Cyprus is the appendage of a Sultana, and this kingdom, diſmembered from the Venetian ſtates, is at preſent governed by a Muſſelim, who, as well as the Greek Metropolitan, reſides at Nocoſia. The adminiſtration of theſe two chiefs, the one ſpiritual, the other temporal, has had ſuch a rapid ſucceſs, that neither the advantages of climate, nor its charming productions have been able to withſtand it, and this beautiful country exhibits at this day, nothing but the picture of ſolitude and miſery. The amorous fountain Amathor and Paphos, contain only a few wretched inhabitants covered with rags. The taxes impoſed on the people of Cyprus, taken from former calculations of a greater population, being now borne by a ſmaller quantity of individuals, induce them to fly, and aggravate the annual miſery of thoſe who are unable to eſcape from this horrible tyranny; but the means which neceſſity is compelled to make uſe of to pay this ſurcharge of impoſition, by draining the true ſources of wealth, will ſoon do retributive juſtice to the tyrants, and make them partake

of

of the miſery of the ſlaves. The wines of Cyprus, in fact, whoſe ſale depends wholly on the quality, and which can only be acquired on the lees*, have already loſt their value by the exportation of theſe old caſks, which formerly were not to be procured, but which their poverty has obliged them to ſell for a long time paſt. The Venetians have purchaſed the oldeſt; but private intereſt which has carried on this ſpeculation, does not feel, that by inverting the order of things, it muſt eventually injure itſelf; and that an operation which deprives the cultivator of the means of cultivating to the greateſt advantage, by deſtroying the wine, will render the barrel uſeleſs §.

The

* The new wines were always poured into caſks that had been kept for ages, and after remaining on the old lees of the former years, were drawn off for ſale, which added greatly to the quality of the wine.

§ The Cyprus wines which in general have a pitchy taſte, which they acquire from the pitched leather caſes they are emptied into in coming from the preſs, and until they are put into the caſks on the lees, theſe wines loſe this taſte by age and have this advantage, when they are genuine, of never becoming ſour.

The abundance and variety of the productions with which the mild soil of Cyprus is spontaneously covered, must make one regret that Tournefort, that celebrated Botanist, neglected visiting this island. The researches which might here be made without difficulty, would save the trouble of visiting the coast of Caramania, where it is impossible to botanize without danger. Its proximity, as well as the similarity of the soil of Cyprus, with the continent of Asia, seem to leave no doubt of the similarity of their productions, and I was much concerned that the season was unfavourable to the zeal of the young naturalist, who was appointed by Mr. Poissonier to be principal surgeon to the frigate.

We left Cyprus, along which we coasted to the westermost point, whence the frigate sailed for Rhodes, and we came to anchor before that famous tower, where the flower of the European nobility disputed the laurels with the Great Soliman, and left him only the field of battle.

Several pieces of armoury, belonging to the Knight Hospitalers, are still to be

ſeen at Rhodes; and that iſland, formerly the terrour of the Turks, is ſtill formidable throughout the Archipelago, from two galleys which are equipped there to defend it from the corſairs of Malta, but which only ſerve to harraſs the inhabitants of the neighbouring iſlands.

The government of Rhodes is beſtowed on a Pacha with two tails, who is frequently abſent. The Naſir, or inſpector of the Cuſtom-houſe, is, after him, the moſt dangerous man, and his abuſe of authority chiefly affects the Europeans. The perſon in poſſeſſion of this employment on my arrival at Rhodes, had rendered himſelf formidable by his extortions; but greedy on the one hand, and liberal on the other, he always purchaſed impunity with the produce of his oppreſſions. Such is the ſyſtem which pervades and governs the whole Ottoman Empire. It furniſhes perquiſites for the miniſters of the Porte; and the Grand Signior, himſelf, finds, in this ſyſtem, the reſources for the ſupply of his private treaſury; but in no caſe does any thing return to the unfortunate ſubjects of their oppreſ-

oppreſſion, and the ſubject, who knows that complaints producing no other effect than to occaſion a partition of the booty, give only a new thirſt for plunder, is always prudent enough to hold his tongue.

I ſhall paſs over an account of the manners of the inhabitants of Rhodes, and every thing elſe remarkable in this iſland. Theſe particulars have been given by Mr. le Conte de Choiſeul Gouffier *, and his voyage comprehending every part of Greece, which remained for me to viſit, I ſhall confine myſelf to an inquiry into the Turkiſh government without the capital, but it is my duty, to fulfil the object of theſe memoirs, by bearing teſtimony to the accuracy of Mr. de Choiſeul. He has neglected no details, and the public are much indebted to him for having diſtinctly traced out ancient Greece, without ever confounding it, with the different traits which characterize the modern Greeks.

The bad ſeaſon, together with the buſineſs of my inſpection, determined me

* The preſent ambaſſador of France at the Porte, whoſe learned work is in high eſtimation in France.

me to paſs the winter at Smyrna, and we ſet ſail accordingly from Rhodes, coaſting along Aſia †. This navigation, which at any other time would have afforded us the moſt agreeable coup d'œil, was extremely fatiguing, particularly off the Gulph of Stanchio, where we had very bad weather, which after obliging us to lie too all night, forced us to ſtand in next day for the ſhoals of the Pacha. A ſhort time after we had got into this ſhelter, a Venetian veſſel arrived at the ſame anchoring ground, the captain of which informed us, that meeting with the bad weather far out at ſea, and not knowing either his latitude, or how to ſteer, he had faſtened an image of the Virgin, at the prow of his veſſel, and left the direction of it entirely to her. It was thus that theſe devotees had traverſed a ſea full of ſhoals; but it is ſtill more ridiculous, and dreadful to reflect that one ſuch inſtance of ſucceſs was ſufficient to occaſion the loſs of many veſſels, by following the ſame ſuperſtitious principles.

Our

† It is on this coaſt that the fineſt ſponges are fiſhed up.

Our courſe lying between the iſlands of Spalmadore, and the harbour of Tcheſmé, I had an opportunity of beholding that theatre, where ignorance had played the principal part. The Turks were ſtill employed in fiſhing up the remainder of the braſs cannon ſwallowed up in this abyſs, which the perſons employed in the reſearch were appropriating to themſelves, whenever they could ſteal them, and ſelling them to the beſt bidder *. At a little diſtance we doubled Cape Cara Bournoa, which ſhuts in the ſpacious and deep road, at the bottom of which is ſituated the town of Smyrna. This port *(Echelle)* §, may be conſidered as

 the

* This manner of adminiſtering the Grand Signior's affairs, is carried to ſuch ſhameful and barefaced lengths, that a *Pacha* of the Morea made them ſaw off the barrels of the guns of Coron to ſell the mettle. This ingenious method of ſtealing the artillery without diminiſhing the number of the pieces, may have been found fault with, but certainly was never puniſhed.

§ The word *Echelle*, for which as it is a word peculiarly applied by the French to their ſettlements in the Levant, and has no word ſynonimous to it, as thus applied, in Engliſh, the *tranſlator*, has frequently

the centre of the commerce of the Levant, which is there both active and paſſive, and is in fact the entrepôt of all Aſia. The wealth of ſeveral individuals at Smyrna, maintains a ſyſtem of independence in its environs, which is increaſing its progreſs every day. Their principal power conſiſts in money, and that power is irreſiſtible. It may be further remarked that the efforts made by the Porte a few years ago, to deſtroy one of the Agas * have only proved the weakneſs of the deſpot, without frightening the others. They even took a pride in ſeeing the Captain Pacha commiſſioned to go there in perſon, to inveſt the houſe of their companion; and the cruelties exerciſed by this great Admiral, after his victory, on defenceleſs people

quently ſubſtituted the words port, harbour, or ſettlement; is taken from the Turkiſh word *Iſkélé*, a ſort of pier, built on piles, formed for unloading the merchandize, to which there are two or three ſteps, to facilitate the aſcent and deſcent. The word iſkè'é literally tranſlated is *echelle* or *ladder*; a proof that literal tranſlations are not always the moſt expreſſive of the true ſenſe.

* The title beſtowed on all rich perſons without employments, and above all on great landholders.

people whom he maſſacred without pity, has only prepared the way for a more obſtinate reſiſtance in future.

It is through the Agas of Smyrna, that commerce makes its returns; the crops of cotton are purchaſed from them, and they are furniſhed in exchange with articles of conſumption neceſſary for theſe Agas, and the ballance is paid in ſpecie; trade ſometimes ſuffers a few trifling oppreſſions; but mutual intereſt always dictates the law to the two parties, and the evil is ſeldom ſo great as to make a difference. The commerce of Smyrna extends its branches throughout all the Leſſer Aſia, by means of the carravans which conveys our *Languedoc cloths* that are bought up by the merchants of the country, who purchaſe them in wholeſale, to circulate their ſale throughout that vaſt country.*

* Will the policy of ENGLAND never keep pace with her ſterling good ſenſe? will ſhe never learn to acquire a little of that accommodating ſpirit which is raiſing her rival to power as a commercial nation? or is ſhe determined to *force* her commerce, as ſhe attempts to compel alliances, by the *ſuperiority of her manufactures*, or *the juſtice of her cauſe*?!!! TRANSLATOR.

To finiſh this long circuit, I had now only to viſit the coaſt of Europe, and I croſſed the Archipelago to Salonica, one of the great pachaliks of Turkey in Europe. At the entrance of the gulph is ſeen Mount Athos, now called Monte Santo, inhabited only by Monks of the Greek perſuaſion. Some relations would have us believe, that they are in poſſeſſion of a collection of precious manuſcripts; but it is more certain, that if there be any, they do not read them; it is equally true that the books of the ancient Theſſalonica, as well as thoſe of Conſtantinople, have been kept locked up ſince the conqueſt, and that the Barbarians have melted lead in the locks, ſo that the remains of Grecian literature, delivered over into the hands, either of ſuperſtition or of ignorance, are ſo well kept from us, by theſe enemies to letters, that we can ſcarcely flatter ourſelves with the hopes of ever being able to reſt from them a few fragments.

The Turkiſh government diſplays its weakneſs more particularly at Salonica, by the oppoſition which deſpotiſm experiences there, on the part of the militia,

tia. The *Eſprit de corps*, which increaſes every day by proper management, and aſſumes to itſelf the ſhreds of an impaired authority, has taken poſſeſſion of Salonica. Several Pachas have been its ſucceſſive victims; but this oppoſition to deſpotiſm, far from deſtroying its effects, ſerves only to multiply the tyranny, and the Janiſſary Aga, the chief who commands under him, and each private Janiſſary are ſo many tyrants, courted by the Porte, feared by the Pacha, and who make the whole country tremble.

The cuſtom of permanent garriſons amongſt the Turks, joined to the want of diſcipline of their troops, give them, in ſome degree, the abſolute property of the places in which they are ſtationed, where they exerciſe rights, conſecrated by cuſtom, maintained by their union, and which are in invariable oppoſition to what is intended, as eſtabliſhed order.

It is on this principle that the Galiondgis, who poſſeſs the privilege of ſelling lambs in Conſtantinople, oblige individuals to purchaſe them. The

Turkiſh troops quartered in each village enjoy ſome privileges of that nature; their union invigorates that ſpirit of fraud which attacks the revenue of the ſtate. This infidelity is remarkable on all the coaſts of the Archipelago, where the exportation of corn is become the baſis of a ſmuggling trade.

The prohibitions of the Grand Signior, which are the more ſevere, as he himſelf is the monopolizer of that article, produce no effect; and the commanders of the galliots ſtationed to prevent that exportation, are the firſt to encourage it, in conſideration of a recompenſe ſtipulated, and paid before hand. The ſtation of the galliot is then agreed upon, and the time and place when the ſmuggling veſſels ſhall take her lading; the country boats then convey the corn to the coaſt; Turkiſh and Greek veſſels are employed in the buſineſs; the Grand Signior's galliot ſees nothing; and avidity profiting by this licence, accompliſhes every ſpecies of fraud.

The fall of timber on the coaſts is given up alike to pillage. The moſt powerful individual in the country, arrogates

rogates to himſelf the right of diſpoſing of this domanical property of the ſovereign; and the mariner who makes his fraudulent purchaſe, and always endeavours to buy as cheap as poſſible, neceſſarily gives life to this marauding ſpirit, which is deſtructive of all ſubordination and diſcipline, and leaves nothing to the ſtate that furniſhes him his very ſailors, but loſſes, which are beyond all calculation.

On leaving Salonica, I went to viſit the Iſles of St. George of Squirees, Paros, Naxia, and Sira; theſe Iſlands, as well as thoſe with which the Archipelago is filled, are either private appendages which the proprietors diſpoſe of, or immediate dependencies of the Captain Pacha; but in every caſe, the inhabitants, whoſe common intereſt it is to prevent the appearance of any Turkiſh officer amongſt them, ſolicit the permiſſion of farming their own iſlands; as deſpotiſm however has always its claims alſo, and that it conſtantly requires the cutting off a head, or the hanging of a fellow creature, the republican form of Government, the form eſtabliſhed a-

amongſt

mongſt all leſſer communities, cannot be too agreeable. Deſpotiſm muſt have a primate, a ſubaltern deſpot, ſhould he not even be a Turk; and the Greek, who obtains that dignity, never deceives the expectation of thoſe to whom he owes his elevation.

On quitting Syra, we ſailed for Naples in Romania. This town, ſituated at the bottom of the Gulph of the ſame name, and which, with that of Lepantum, form the peninſula of the Morea, was at that time the reſidence of the Pacha who governs that part of Turkey in Europe. He was compelled to take refuge there to ſhelter himſelf from the devaſtations committed in the Morea, ſince the Albaneſe had come there to defend it from the invaſion of the Ruſſians. Theſe troops, whom the Porte wanted to get rid of, inſiſted on not being diſbanded before they received the arrears due to them, and which were refuſed them. The Grand Signoir, on the one hand, previouſly expected their obedience; the Albaneſe, on the other, inſiſted on being paid: their inſolence increaſed with their claims; and the Pacha, who was employed in this negotiation,

tion, had neither money to satisfy, nor power to compel them. His orders from Constantinople however, urged him to terminate the business, and a few acts of rigour, which are always misplaced when there is no power to support them, only served to consolidate the revolters, whose first exploit was to take possession of Tripolitza, the capital of that kingdom.

The retreat of the Pacha had been dictated by them contrary to prudence; but he was as much afraid of the Porte, as of the Albanese. His was a very embarrassing situation; I had known him at Constantinople, where he had held in the time I was there, the office of Grand Equerry, and I now found him preparing for the siege of Tripolitza. This Turk, accustomed to see the Grand Signior dispose of my activity, and grant me his confidence in all military matters, made no doubt of my eagerness to undertake the reduction of the rebels of Morea. The army he had collected, the command of which he designed for me, was composed only of volunteers, and his household was of the number, but the whole troop appeared to be more animated

ted with the ardour of ſpoil, than the love of glory. I obſerved alſo that the Pacha, confident of appropriating to himſelf, both one and the other after his ſucceſs, was very ready to transfer his authority, that he might not in any reſpect commit to danger, his perſon or reputation. I amuſed myſelf in conſequence, for ſome time, with his embarraſſments and ſolicitations, and concluded at length, by telling him, that I neither ought to do it, nor could I take upon me a commiſſion ſo foreign to that with which I was entruſted: I could only convince him however of my want of inclination; nor had I more ſucceſs in attempting to demonſtrate to him, that no perſon but himſelf, could properly conduct this buſineſs, in which his preſence would have more weight than all the military force he had at his diſpoſal. He continued unſhaken in his reſolution of remaining at Naples in Romania, and in this diſordered ſtate of ideas and diſpoſition *, I left him to ſet out for Tunis, where I was to finiſh my inſpection.

After

* I could not avoid however ſhowing the Commander of the Artillery, the uſe of mortars for throwing granadoes, and the manner of preparing the

After touching at Malta, and putting into Lampedoſia, we doubled Cape Bon; and came to an anchor oppoſite the new caſtle of the Goulette, or entrance of the harbour, from whence I went to Tunis.

This town, ſituated on the banks of a lake, or rather of a ſhallow water in the form of a lake, and which communicates with the gulph by a channel, is rather large, pretty well built, and not ill defended by the fort on the ſea, and by ſome ſmaller ones ſcattered on the eminences which ſurround it. It is probable that this ſituation, firſt made choice of by fiſhermen, who have determined that of almoſt all maritime towns, appeared to the Tuniſians preferable to that of Carthage, when enriched by their rapine, they dared to make open war on commerce. It is to be preſumed alſo, that their piracies have made them wiſh to keep out of the way of a bombardment. The platform, on which we ſtill may ſee the ruins of the rival of ancient Rome, advances on the contrary into the middle of the gulph, and for this reaſon, had

the matches. It was a long time after this before the Porte could appeaſe the troubles in Morea.

had they built there, the Tunisians would have been exposed to a *coup de main*, the only attack they have to fear, as long as the policy of Europe, telescope in hand, to make discoveries in distant countries, continues to over look what would be much more convenient and advantageous. The aqueducts of ancient Carthage are yet to be seen near Tunis; and six leagues up the country is the castle of Trater, which served by way of reservoir, and is the only remaining monument, of that time that announces any thing of magnificence. The heaps of ruins on its ancient site, have no appearance of it; but by digging amongst them, one discovers some traces of what this place formerly has been, by the gold medals which time has not been able to destroy; I saw a collection of them at Tunis, which appeared to me very precious.

The dignity of Bey is hereditary, and his authority absolute. It extends into Africa, over a great tract of country in which he collects his annual tribute by a little army that marches through it, for that purpose. This tribute, joined to that of the tithes, the poll-tax, his share of the prizes, and Custom-house duties,

duties, form the revenue of the ſovereign; but the commerce and induſtry of the Tuniſians conſtitute the true baſis of their wealth, and of a ſort of affability which diſtinguiſhes them from the other nations of Barbary. The Bey reſides at ſome diſtance from the town. His reſidence is called the Barde, and this palace, ſurrounded by walls and flanked by towers, diſplays more magnificence in its interior, than one would be led to expect from its external appearance; the moſt remarkable part of it, is a ſpacious court ſurrounded with buildings raiſed on a colonade of white marble; there are ſome apartments alſo which appeared to me not badly ornamented for that country; but they who judge of the Barde from the hall of the Divan, where the Bey gives audience, would not conceive a very exalted idea of its magnificence. It was for this reaſon, perhaps, that the prime miniſter granted me an audience in the hall of the treaſury. I do not know whether the cheſt which ſerved us by way of ſeat was full of gold, as well as thoſe this hall is filled with. For my own part what I ſaw reſembled more a wardrobe, or rather

rather the back ſhop of an old cloath's-man, with his goods piled up in heaps; but I was charmed with the mildneſs, the information, and refined underſtanding of the Barbarian, with whom I had to tranſact my buſineſs. I had a private audience likewiſe of the ſon of the reigning Bey, and who has juſt ſucceeded his father; I was apprized of the timidity of this young prince's character, and took care accordingly to put him at his eaſe.

I ſaw at the Barde a great number of ſlaves of every nation; but they gave me none of the ideas uſually entertained reſpecting them. I ſaw them well cloathed, well fed, and well treated, and I am inclined to doubt, if thoſe even who are home-ſick, have in general much reaſon to be ſatisfied with their ranſom. It is poſſible, in truth, that the ſlaves ſold into the interior parts of the country, or to individuals who purchaſe them on ſpeculation, are not ſo happy as thoſe who fall to the lot of the ſovereign, or the grandees. We may preſume, however, that even the avarice of their maſters militates in their favour, for it muſt be confeſſed that the Europeans are the only people who ill treat their ſlaves, which

ariſes

ariſes no doubt from this cauſe,—that they conſtitute the wealth of the orientals, and that with us they are the means of amaſſing wealth. In the Eaſt they are the delight of the miſer; with us they are only the inſtrument of avarice. Convey a negro of our colonies, and an European ſlave of Tunis, into a neutral and impartial country;—it is to that tribunal I appeal.

The character of the Tuniſians, their paſſions, and every thing that conſtitutes their manners, partakes of the burning climate of Africa; but if the imagination of this people, as well as of the Turks, neceſſarily go aſtray, from the privations ariſing from the plurality of women, always reſerved for the rich, the conſtitution of theſe Africans not permitting them to give themſelves up to the ſame errors, nothing can withſtand the impetuoſity of their paſſion, which overſteps the bounds even of human nature.

They who think that the want of cleanlineſs is the principal cauſe of the unhealthineſs of towns, would be aſtoniſhed to ſee the inhabitants of Tunis exiſt in the

the infected air they respire, occasioned by the putrid exhalations of a canal which conveys the filth of the town into the adjoining lake. This lake itself emits exhalations, which appear no less dangerous; but the salubrity of Tunis can only be attributed to the depth of the valley which terminates in the gulph, and which, by attracting the vapours of the canal, and of the lake, does not give them time to acquire such a degree of corruption as to make them noxious to man.

In quitting Tunis to re-imbark, I had the opportunity of observing the ruins of the fort built by Charles the Fifth. The quantities of earth collected by time have removed it to a little distance from the sea, for which reason undoubtedly the Tunisians have substituted that of the goulette.

From this road we set sail for Toulon, and I here finish *Memoirs*, which I should never have written, had I not imagined they might be useful.

THE END.

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